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NEW MASSES

FIFTEEN CENTS

August 15, 1939

'Ham and Eggs to You'

California's Million-Vote Pension Plan

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The CIO Enters 'The Jungle'

by Tom Hardwick

CARTOONS BY GROPPER, RICHTER, GARDNER REA, OTHERS

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Between Ourselves

THIS magazine has made formal application to radio stations WJR, Detroit, and WHVI, Newark, for radio time to answer an attack on the magazine by Father Charles E. Coughlin, Sunday, July 30. Sending a copy of the application to the chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, we called attention to the commonly accepted democratic rule governing the broadcast of controversial subjects wherein the subjects of attacks are granted equal time and facilities for reply. Father Coughlin declared ". . . the NEW MASSES is Bolshevik literature."

Our letter replied: "The term 'Bolshevik literature' or the word 'Bolshevik' has only one connection or meaning—namely, that it applies to the Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union, the only political party in the world that calls itself by that name. There is no doubt whatsoever that the implication of Father Coughlin's reference to NEW MASSES was simply that our magazine is linked or connected with the Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union and/or that NEW MASSES takes 'orders from Moscow' or that NEW MASSES is a foreign importation. These allegations are entirely untrue.

"The NEW MASSES magazine is a weekly publication, is an independent, militant, anti-fascist journal of democratic opinion—and is affiliated to no political party."

On this basis our letter asked WJR and WHVI to extend radio time to editor Joseph North to reply to Father Coughlin's canard.

D. M. of Clums Corners, N. Y., writes: "Why isn't NM in the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature?* I have been reading the magazine only a few months, but already I have found in it valuable research material that is, apparently, being denied to those who seek their references in the *Readers' Guide*. Your recent study of the railroads (NM, July 18), your survey on the Baltic, Terrall's valuable material on the press, indeed practically all of the magazine, contains facts and opinions that no student should miss."

On the same subject, F. H., a college librarian writes: "For some time my library has been subscribing to NM and placing it on the periodical racks. Students and professors read the magazine with considerable interest, but more than a few have complained to me about the difficulty of using it for research. This is no fault of the magazine, but can be attributed to the fact that it is not included in the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature,* the *Book Review Digest,* or other compilations. Many people have used NM in their work, but it has been a stumbling or word-of-mouth process. Its material should be listed, both for its factual value and for the widespread interest in its point of view. I know there are hundreds of librarians who agree with me and who are willing to cast their votes in favor of inclusion. I am certain that there are thousands more who would do likewise if NM were brought to their attention."

NM editors have investigated the *Readers' Guide* situation and find that inclusion is placed on the basis of librarians' vote. The way to get this is to petition the workers in your local library.

The young Negro playwright Theodore Ward has dramatized Richard Wright's prize-winning story, *Bright and Morning Star,* which originally appeared in NM (May 10, 1938). Mr. Ward will give the first public reading of the new work Friday, August 11, at 9 p.m. at the library at 103 West 135th St., N. Y. C., under the auspices of the Harlem Suitcase Theater. Theodore Ward is the author of *White Fog,* dealing with Negro life in Chicago, which was produced last year in that city by the Federal Theater; he was trained as a writer at the University of Wisconsin on the coveted Zona Gale fellowship in creative writing, which was personally extended for two years by the late Miss Gale. Tickets for his reading are not available at the door but may be purchased at the Workers Bookshops.

Our summer forums are thumping along into dog days. Sunday, August 13, Dale Kramer, who recently dissected Pegler with one hand on his nose, will lecture at Camp Unity on "Columnists under the X-Ray." On the same day Mike Gold will speak at Camp Beacon on "Is There a Jewish Problem?" and Kenneth Fearing will be at Chester's Zunbarg to talk on poetry and read from his own work. The following Sunday, August 20, will find our forum spot at Camp Unity held down by Simon Breines, United States consulting architect on the Soviet Pavilion at Flushing Meadow, who will speak on "Architecture at the World's Fair."

Who's Who

PAUL G. MCMANUS is Washington correspondent for NM. . . . William Allen represents the *Midwest Daily Record* and the *Daily Worker* in Lansing, Mich. . . . Richard Goodman is NM's European correspondent. . . . Tom Hardwick, who lives in Chicago, is a writer with a special interest in labor topics. . . . Ralph Ellison is a young Negro writer. . . . Allen Johnson was a major in the International Brigades in the Spanish civil war. He is an authority on military affairs, who has written for NM before on this subject. . . . John Stuart, who collaborated with Bruce Minton in writing *Men Who Lead Labor,* is again writing a book with Minton, this time on the history of the United States since the World War.

Flashbacks

BRITISH labor (as was noted in last week's "Flashbacks") strove mightily—and successfully—to prevent a war against the Soviet Union in 1920. Typical of the mood of August 14 were the words of the British labor spokesman, as quoted by the New York *Times:* "I would rather act in an unconstitutional manner than go to war and go to hell under the British constitution." . . . Marx wrote to Engels, Aug. 16, 1867, at "two o'clock, night": "Dear Fred —I have just finished correcting the last sheet, so this volume [Volume I of *Capital*] is finished. This has been possible thanks to you alone." . . . On Aug. 15, 1936, upward of a thousand defenders of the Spanish republic were executed by Franco's forces in the bullring at Badajoz.

Anna Louise Strong

Known for many years as one of the keenest of America's journalists, Miss Strong has spent a great deal of time abroad, particularly in China and the Soviet Union. Her most recent book, "One-fifth of Mankind: The Chinese Fight for Freedom," was written after a lengthy stay in China, during which time she visited the various war fronts, and interviewed the army and government leaders of the Chinese people, as well as hundreds of workers and farmers. For a number of years, Miss Strong was an editor of the Moscow "Daily News." She is the author of "I Change Worlds" and "China's Millions."

This Week

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Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification direct to us rather than to the post office will give the best results.

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NEW MASSES

VOLUME XXXII AUGUST 15, 1939 NUMBER 8

"Ham and Eggs to You"

Anna Louise Strong's report on California's mighty movement to care for the old and banish poverty. Reaction would knife it. Progress must guide it. What it means to America.

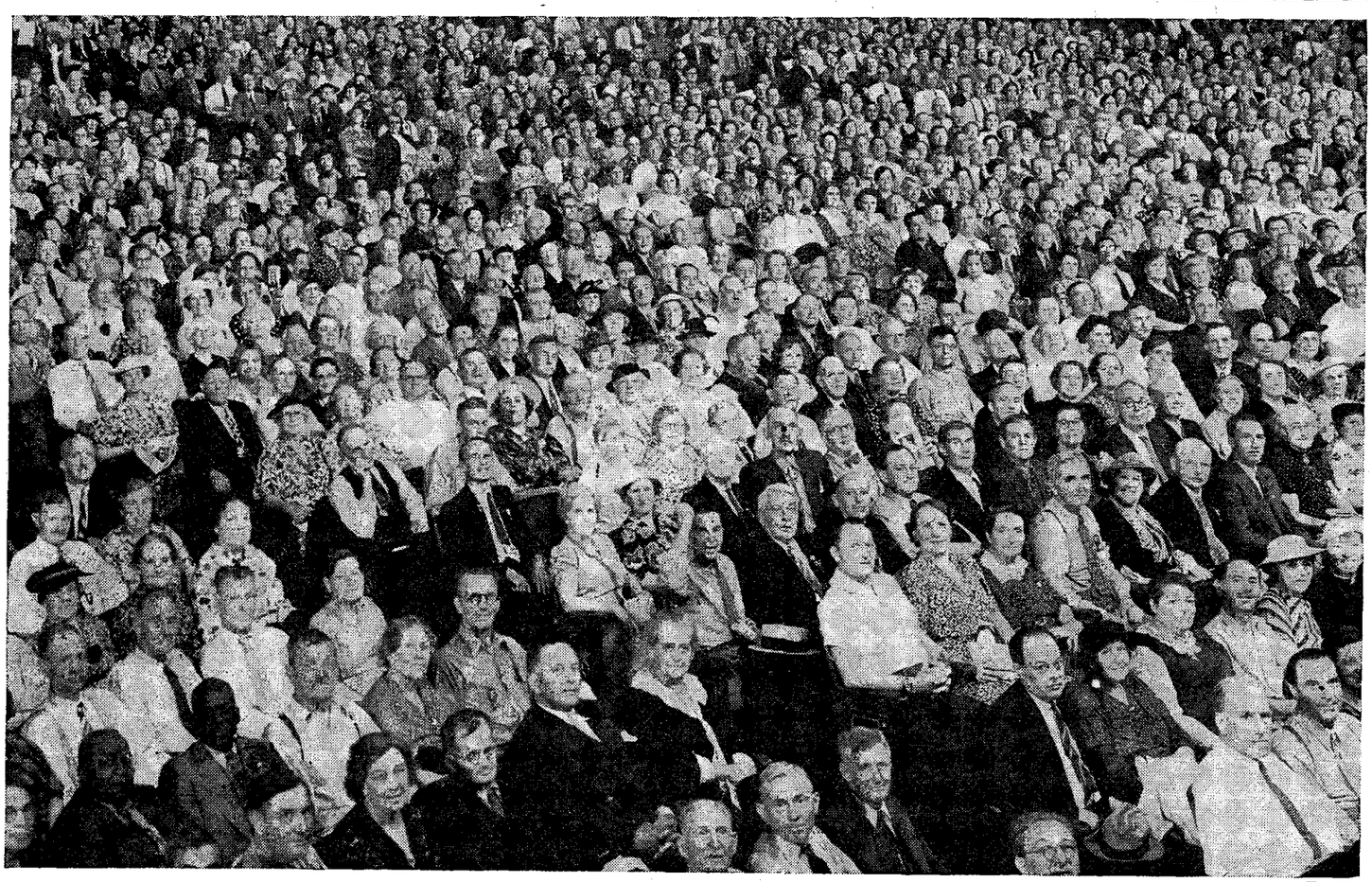
"HAM and Eggs to you" is the cheery greeting. An answering "Ham and Eggs" is shouted back by the assembled people. Above the platform—or above the sound trucks—hang optimistic slogans: "Life Begins at Fifty" and "Thirty Dollars Every Thursday for Life."

Up and down the aisles of the great Shrine Auditorium in Los Angeles—or the more informal pathways between picnickers under California trees—move men and women with the figure "30" on their hatbands, selling the official weekly newspaper *Ham and Eggs*. Nearly five hundred such mass meetings are being held throughout California each of these summer months of 1939. Tables placed strategically are receiving membership applications; some five thousand sign up every week, putting down 30 cents monthly dues. When they go home, they tune in on one of the twelve radio stations which daily carry Ham-and-Eggs programs.

Such is the outer body of a movement which last November cast 1,143,670 votes (against 1,398,999 votes) for a state constitutional amendment providing for all California voters over fifty—known as "senior citizens"—$30 every Thursday for life. A change of 130,000 votes would have carried their measure; ham-and-eggers claim it was actually carried, and declare there were two thousand cases of proved irregularity at the polls in Los Angeles County alone. Undiscouraged by failure, nay, rather stimulated by the nearness of victory, they drafted a new, improved measure and secured a million signatures in seven weeks. They have also secured new allies. Labor unions, formerly passive, are hastening to endorse them. The leftwing daily paper *People's World,* which formerly ran an "Open Forum" on the subject, now urges "Vote Ham-and-Eggs." California awaits a special election which may write into the state constitution an amendment which its advocates hail as the charter of a new social order.

A MILLION VOTES

While its members are smiled at as crackpots and its leaders denounced as racketeers, the Thirty-Every-Thursday movement has put on the spot every politician and political organization in California. By grace of its support, one senator, Sheridan B. Downey, already sits in Washington; its votes were im-



Keystone

YOU HAVE SEEN THEIR FACES. *A section of one of the larger of the two hundred meetings a week. This one is at Los Angeles Shrine Auditorium. It holds 8,500 and the ham-and-eggers can fill it any time.*

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VOTE YES SPECIAL ELECTION AUG.
FOR LIFE PAYMENTS.
The Greatest CHANGE in HISTORY "COMING SOON"
PROSPERITY for ALL.
TUNE IN DAILY K.M.T.R. 6.30 K.F.W.B. 7.30 P.M. AND HEAR THE TRUTH
WHERE THERE IS NO VISION, THE PEOPLE PERISH.

THE PEOPLE'S PROPAGANDA. *The ham-and-eggers have taken to sound trucks, billboards, radio, circuses, and circulars. "National Ham and Eggs," the association's weekly, is professional and effective journalism. A thirty-two-page news tabloid, it comments on everything of interest to the movement. Their outdoor advertising covers the state. Members and sympathizers help put up the billboards; many lend their own property. "A state bank, not a bankers' state" is a popular slogan. Their circus (adults, 30 cents; children, 10 cents) combines the old, familiar Hagenbeck-Wallace outfit with a couple of local troupes. "In sponsoring this unique departure," explains the publicity department, "Ham-and-Eggs not only is giving the West Coast its only circus on tour during the 1939 season, but is also trying to do its bit to banish unemployment, aggravated by current WPA cuts." Every performer, they boast, is now a loyal ham-and-egger, and they work on a cooperative basis. "Dog and pony, elephant, camel, zebra, clown acts, daring aerial performers. Australian whip cracking, knife throwing, all to the accompaniment of a pulse-quickening band," etc., etc., etc.*

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portant, and possibly decisive, in electing Governor Olson and Lieutenant Governor Patterson, and in defeating the anti-picketing Proposition No. 1 in the last state election. Even Farley, when in California, treated the movement with respect. "You can't laugh off a million votes," says shrewd, unsentimental Willis Allen, manager of the movement, sitting in his Los Angeles office, conscious of his power.

It is not by accident that southern California has become the birthplace of movements —called variously hopeful or crackpot—which seek to "remake this scheme of things entire." The basic contradiction of modern capitalism —the chasm between man's technically possible wealth and actual poverty—has developed further here than anywhere else on earth. America's largest specialized farms—and largest horde of homeless farmhands! Mile-long dumps of oranges—one dump of 130,000,000, one for every man, woman, and child in the United States—destroyed by creosote almost in sight of pale, vitamin-starved children. Los Angeles County is first in America in value of farm produce; it is first in the world in number of automobiles—one car for every three persons. Developed since the coming of motor transport, it foreshadows, more than any spot on earth, the mechanical form of future civilization. Homes are far-flung on distant hills; they communicate by curving speedways. Yet all this high development is to the hungry unemployed an extra burden; before he feeds his children, he must first feed gasoline and spare parts to his rickety car in order to seek work.

Amid these contrasts of marvelously productive technique and painfully inadequate distribution live an energetic people. A hopeful, progressive folk, people who pioneered. There was a bit of fake in much of their promoting. What matter? It worked! Los Angeles real estate men challenged San Francisco's marvelous Golden Gate harbor with lies about a wondrous port on the mud flats; but presently the port was there, with a billion dollar commerce. Los Angeles grew by hope and hot air to be the fourth metropolitan area in America, with a billion dollar industry, first in aircraft, in motion pictures, in secondary auto assembly, and near the top in oil refining. People of southern California learned from life that not even geographical facts can block men of vision and daring. They drew water 250 miles and made the desert blossom; they staked out lots scores of miles from anywhere, and lo! there was a great city.

THEN THE CRASH

Then southern California, with the rest of the world, crashed in 1929. In that crash it had its own special problem. There are more old people here than anywhere else in the world. Some of these are the pioneers; most of them are the wave of migration that followed. Men and women worked hard all their lives on Eastern and Midwestern farms, saved for their old age, and came to pass declining days in perpetual springtime in sunny orange groves. Then something happened in the far-away New York stockmarket, and the engraved certificates that meant a safe old age became wastepaper. Their security crashed into starvation; the counties went bankrupt under the load of relief. It was some strange trick by the lords of money. For they saw also that federal banks—private banks calling themselves "federal"—could take one dollar and issue many dollars, all of apparently equal worth. Why could the lords of money do it, and not the people?

Some facts seem crystal clear to these people of California: that America's productive plant can produce $30 a week for everybody—and doesn't; that old folks who worked hard all their lives ought to be secure; that it is a crime against the universe to destroy food when people are hungry; that somehow the private control of money seems involved in this mess. A lot of thinking goes on in California on these matters; and since Californians are energetic pioneers, they try to act on their thinking. Thus they evolved self-help co-operatives, the Epic movement, the Utopians, the Townsend plan. The plans may not work, but is our present system working? The ideas may be confused, but who offers clear ones?

Californians believe in the democratic process. They are trying it hard. They got together last November and put out of office a Republican machine that had held power forty-two years. Then they sat down and waited for Governor Olson to show them the way. But a reactionary legislature hamstrung the governor's budget and voted down every one of his progressive bills. Lieutenant Governor Patterson went before a great mass meeting of ham-and-eggers, saying, "We have failed; we turn to the people." That's the background—great ultra-modern farms and industries, great hunger, and the election failing. One thing more—the Bank of America, financial overlord of Californians, headlined on all front pages for corrupt practices, is under investigation by the federal government. Is democracy failing because of the might of the lords of money? Or can we go forward to greater democracy, through an initiative measure of the sovereign people?

Before considering the details of the proposed initiative, let us watch it presented to Governor Olson. The time is a blazing May noon—Thursday, May 19, 1939, if you wish to record the date as historic. The place is sunny Sacramento, where green trees and hot cement pavements surround the capitol of the Golden State. The occasion is the presentation of a monster petition for an amendment to the state constitution, creating a new type of money for paying pensions to "senior citizens."

From all over California the petitioners have been coming to be in on the great event. Buses roll in from Los Angeles, four hundred miles to the south, from San Francisco, one hundred miles to the west, from Merced, Fresno, Bakersfield. Banners on the buses proclaim: "Ham and Eggs for Californians," "Life Begins at Fifty." Little blue buttons with the mystic figure "30" gleam on coat lapels. Ham-and-Eggs streamers are worn on hatbands. Tiny golden "liberty bells"—shaped like the historic Liberty Bell—tinkle on cotton frocks of gaunt farm women.

All night under heavy guard somewhere in Sacramento, the names have waited—a million black names scrawled on long white petitions, each alive with a man's or woman's hope. At noon reporters wait with poised pens in the governor's office; newsreel cameras are fixed; sound equipment snakes across the floor. "These petitions cannot be ignored," says Governor Olson. Then the flashlights blaze, the cameras click, and the moment is recorded for history. Outside the hall a blare of martial music announces the start of the big parade. That evening in the Fair Grounds, Olson appears—amid predictions that he won't—to announce that he will grant a special election. An uncontrollable tumult of joy roars forth from thousands of people, many of whom believe that by Thanksgiving Day—which comes, by good omen, on Thursday the 30th.

A NEW FORM OF MONEY

The proposed "Retirement Life Payments Act," to give it the official name which nobody ever remembers, is a document of forty-six sections and more than a hundred paragraphs, too long and too legal for most of its adherents to read. It is commonly thought of outside California as a plan for old age pensions, as its title indicates it to be. It is far more than that; it combines a dozen different causes in a single measure, arousing a multiplicity of hopes. It has overtones of Huey Long's fervent plea to "Share the Wealth," of the Technocratic concept of "Plenty for All," of the Townsend demand for security in old age. It inherits all these movements and welds them, through the skill of able promoters whom some hail as zealots and some denounce as racketeers, into a movement for security and plenty which adopts the prosaic but unforgettable slogan "Ham and Eggs," symbol of the full breakfast of the well fed American.

Economically, Ham-and-Eggs is a social credit scheme which proposes to "harmonize the purchasing power of California with its productive capacity" by creating a new form of money—state warrants. "It is not a pension plan but a plan for new credits to make new business," said Will H. Kindig, one of its directors, to me. Emotionally it is a crusade of "the People" against finance capital, of the farmer and small business man against the stranglehold of banks, of the ruined investor against the stock exchange, of the unemployed against those unseen forces which sabotage production and cut down jobs. "Take back the credit power from private hands! Forward to the people's banking system!" is the stirring cry.

The opening sections of the proposed constitutional amendment at once make clear the revolutionary demands. "The sovereign people of the state of California" declare it to be:

their responsibility to provide that all available or producible goods . . . shall be produced in sufficient

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quantity . . . and adequately delivered to the people; that no agricultural or other products shall be intentionally . . . destroyed . . . and no capacity to produce goods shall be curtailed . . . as long as there remains any single unfulfilled human demand.

After this clarion call, the proposed measure proclaims that the solution lies not in restriction of supply but in "stimulation of effective demand," and that since "an increasing population is no longer needed as labor power by either private industry or public service," and "it is not in the interests of the general welfare that private institutions . . . should supervise the allotment of goods to persons thus compulsorily disemployed," it is proposed to achieve through the state "a proper distribution of existent or producible goods" without "detriment to any person."

After this highly exciting first section, with whose general aims a majority of Americans might possibly agree, the proposal proceeds to more debatable details. One is that the state shall issue to every "elector" over fifty years of age, who is neither an employer nor employee, thirty $1 warrants every Thursday. These are not legal tender and are forced upon no recipient; thus it is hoped to avoid the charge of unconstitutionality, since the money-making power is lodged by the federal Constitution in Congress. They are, however, receivable by the state and any of its political subdivisions for all obligations due the state, and are redeemable in United States currency at the end of a year, provided a special 2 cent stamp is affixed to them every Thursday in the meantime. Simple arithmetic shows that they will then have paid for themselves. A Credit Clearings Bank of the state of California is created to handle the warrants, and is made the sole depository of all state funds. An "administrator" named in the measure is placed in charge of the administration of the plan; he may call for amendments and hold elections on them, and after four years is to be regularly elected at state elections.

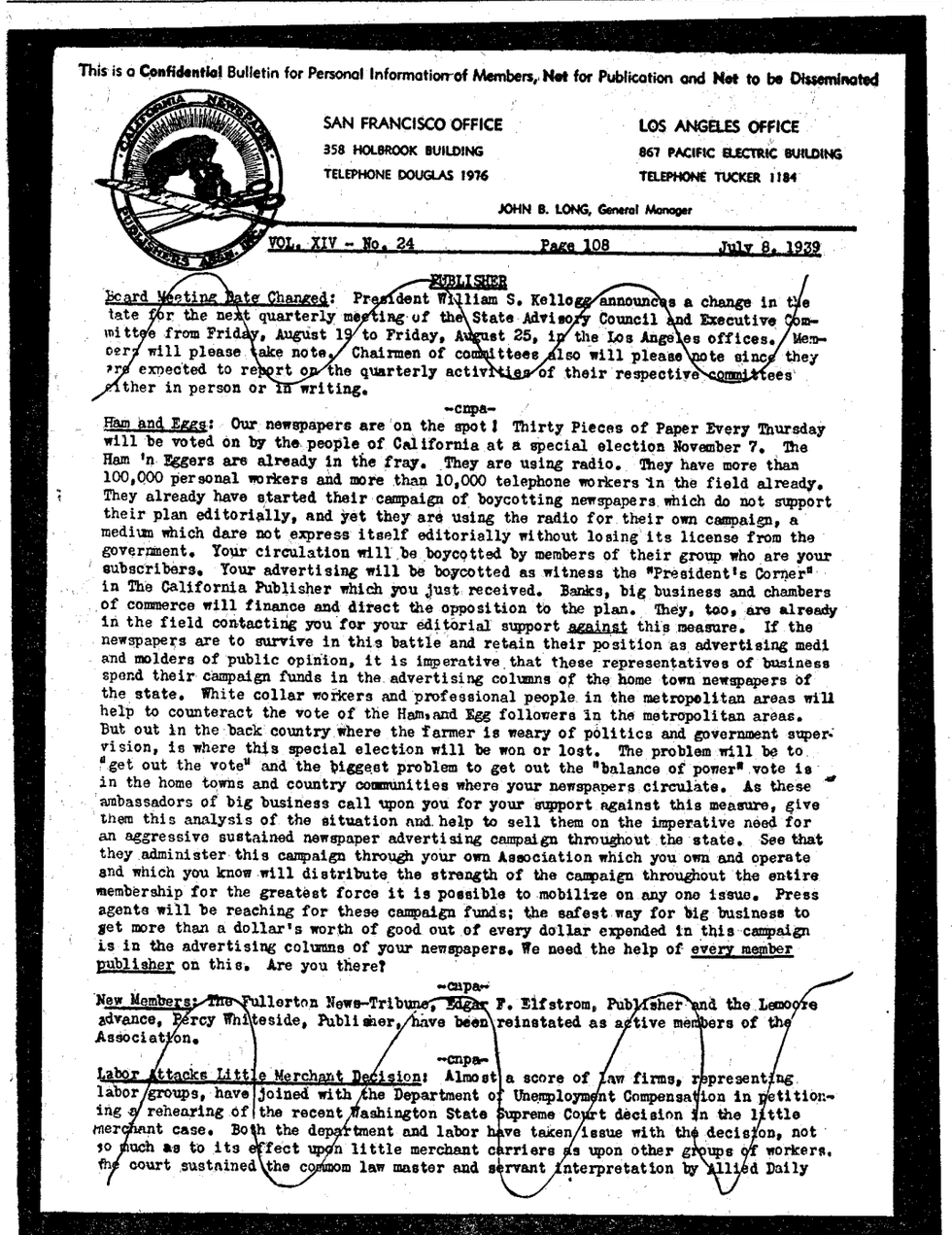
The present 3 percent sales tax is repealed, and replaced by a 3 percent gross income tax, from which all income under $3,000 a year, in cash or in warrants, is exempt. Finally, an Economics Board is created from representatives of employers and employees of the thirteen basic industries of California, including agriculture, whose task shall be to devise ways for "equalizing the distribution of purchasing power in California to harmonize with the production and productive capacity of the state, to the end that production shall find an adequate market and that every citizen of California shall be lifted to the highest practicable plane of living."

SIX YEARS AGO

It will be seen that considerable economic thought, whether valid or not, has gone into this document. It is, however, surprising to learn that the currency plan on which it is based was first proposed, not by some California enthusiast, but by Prof. Irving Fisher of Yale, and was actually introduced in Congress in the dark days of 1933 under the title *Senate Bill 5674* and *House Bill 14757,* and was promoted by *Liberty* magazine in its leading editorial May 19, 1933.

Turn back to the files of *Liberty* in those days of bank failures and financial delirium and you find eloquent arguments on behalf of Ham-and-Eggs. It is proposed that the United States government issue $1,000,000,000 in special money certificates, each of which retains value only if a 2 cent stamp is affixed every Wednesday for a year, after which the certificate, having been paid for with interest, is redeemable in lawful currency. The aim of the measure was to force a large amount of money into circulation. *Liberty* advised distributing the certificates to the states in proportion to population, for use in paying for public improvements. "Millions of unemployed could thus be put to work without cost to the taxpayer . . . The special advantage is that hoarding becomes expensive . . . There would be a regular orgy of spending every Thursday."

This inflationary panacea proposed by Professor Fisher—which he might today be the first to denounce—disappeared without a ripple in the stormy sea of the 1933 financial chaos. But the idea reached the brain of Robert Noble, professional orator and promoter of causes, formerly one of Huey Long's disciples and later a lecturer for the Epic plan and the Utopians. Combining Huey's "Share the Wealth" idea with the pension needs of California's "senior citizens," Noble saw in the *Liberty*-Fisher editorial the means for raising the money. On October 4 he brought together a group of forty Californians in Clinton's cafeteria, a place where many movements



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867 PACIFIC ELECTRIC BUILDING
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JOHN B. LONG, General Manager

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PUBLISHER

Board Meeting Date Changed: President William S. Kellogg announces a change in the date for the next quarterly meeting of the State Advisory Council and Executive Committee from Friday, August 19 to Friday, August 25, in the Los Angeles offices. Members will please take note. Chairmen of committees also will please note since they are expected to report on the quarterly activities of their respective committees either in person or in writing.

-cnpa-

Ham and Eggs: Our newspapers are on the spot! Thirty Pieces of Paper Every Thursday will be voted on by the people of California at a special election November 7. The Ham 'n Eggers are already in the fray. They are using radio. They have more than 100,000 personal workers and more than 10,000 telephone workers in the field already. They already have started their campaign of boycotting newspapers which do not support their plan editorially, and yet they are using the radio for their own campaign, a medium which dare not express itself editorially without losing its license from the government. Your circulation will be boycotted by members of their group who are your subscribers. Your advertising will be boycotted as witness the "President's Corner" in The California Publisher which you just received. Banks, big business and chambers of commerce will finance and direct the opposition to the plan. They, too, are already in the field contacting you for your editorial support against this measure. If the newspapers are to survive in this battle and retain their position as advertising medi and molders of public opinion, it is imperative that these representatives of business spend their campaign funds in the advertising columns of the home town newspapers of the state. White collar workers and professional people in the metropolitan areas will help to counteract the vote of the Ham and Egg followers in the metropolitan areas. But out in the back country where the farmer is weary of politics and government supervision, is where this special election will be won or lost. The problem will be to "get out the vote" and the biggest problem to get out the "balance of power" vote is in the home towns and country communities where your newspapers circulate. As these ambassadors of big business call upon you for your support against this measure, give them this analysis of the situation and help to sell them on the imperative need for an aggressive sustained newspaper advertising campaign throughout the state. See that they administer this campaign through your own Association which you own and operate and which you know will distribute the strength of the campaign throughout the entire membership for the greatest force it is possible to mobilize on any one issue. Press agents will be reaching for these campaign funds; the safest way for big business to get more than a dollar's worth of good out of every dollar expended in this campaign is in the advertising columns of your newspapers. We need the help of every member publisher on this. Are you there?

-cnpa-

New Members: The Fullerton News-Tribune, Edgar F. Elfstrom, Publisher and the Lemoore advance, Percy Whiteside, Publisher, have been reinstated as active members of the Association.

-cnpa-

Labor Attacks Little Merchant Decision: Almost a score of law firms, representing labor groups, have joined with the Department of Unemployment Compensation in petitioning a rehearing of the recent Washington State Supreme Court decision in the little merchant case. Both the department and labor have taken issue with the decision, not so much as to its effect upon little merchant carriers as upon other groups of workers. The court sustained the common law master and servant interpretation by Allied Daily

ONCE MORE THE PUBLISHERS. *Like any other movement for the people's good, Ham-and-Eggs draws the wrath and organized opposition of the press. A photostat of the confidential July bulletin of the California Newspaper Publishers Association, Inc.*

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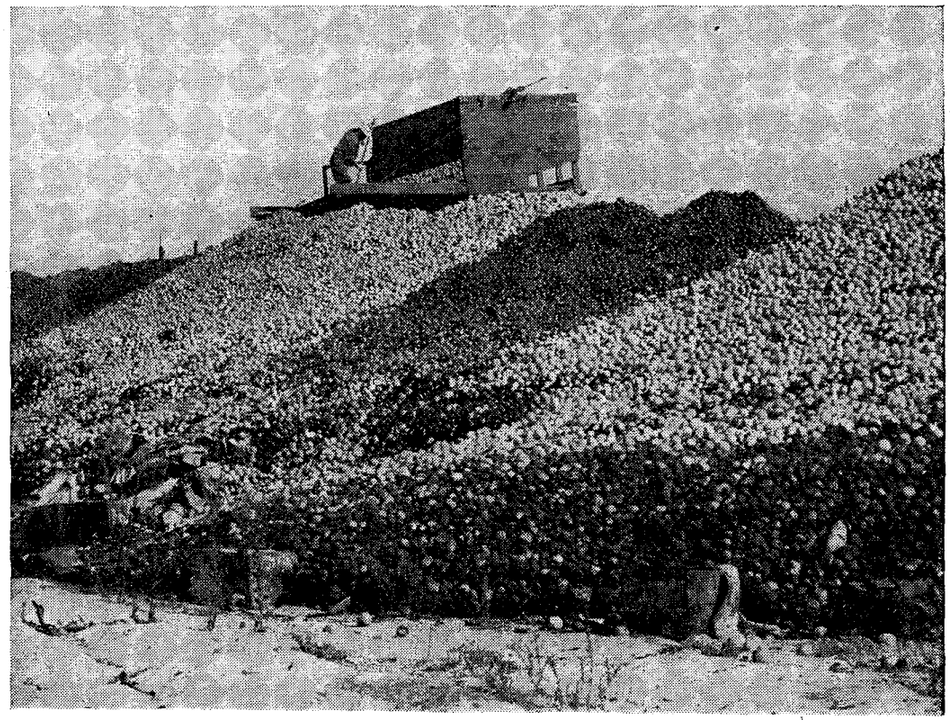
have started; they secured radio time and launched a crusade for $25 every Monday for everybody over sixty. Noble was of the universally crusading type that gets into frequent trouble. Arrested two weeks later for parading without a license, he came out of jail in ten days to find himself disowned, his radio time taken over, and his plan progressing rapidly in the hands of his former associates. They justified the seizure on the ground that Noble was unfit to run a big movement, and they changed the plan to "Thirty Dollars Every Thursday" as more euphonious.

The men who thus took over the movement were shrewder organizers than Noble. A small group of not more than a dozen directors hold firm control, make contracts for radio time and for advertising, appoint all official speakers and the editor of their newspaper. The directors are not elected and cannot be recalled by any democratic process; no local organizations are formed with voting rights. They affiliate with no other organization and accept no affiliation, but only "endorsements." They permit no other organization to send speakers or literature to their meetings. They justify this on the ground that "our members hold all kinds of political, religious, and economic views and we do not intend to let dissension start or attention be diverted until our measure is put across."

"The brain" of the movement is Roy G. Owens, named in the proposed act as first administrator for the plan; if it passes, he will have more economic power than any man in the state. He is a former salesman who was vice president of a large firm of manufacturing engineers in Cleveland and paid income tax in the higher brackets till his firm crashed. Then, as he puts it, he "began to think" and progressed through technocracy, social credit, and the controlled dollar to the present plan. Second in line as administrator is Will S. Kindig, a former Los Angeles city councilman who supported Upton Sinclair's Epic movement. Most prominently seen by the general public is Willis Allen, known as "the manager," who does all the executive detail. He is a salesman, advertising man, and motion picture promoter, and is still very much in business, since his Cinema Advertising Co., a private firm, handled on commission all the advertising for Ham-and-Eggs.

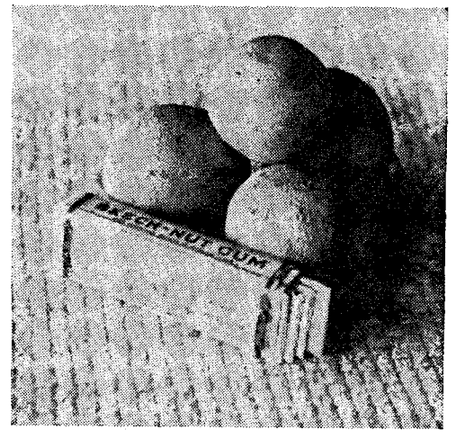
The setup, it is clear, contains no master minds but a considerable number of intelligent people, who know their way about in the present business world but have not permanently succeeded in it. It is clear also that many of its aspects are open to criticism, and even to attack. Such an attack was made by Sherman J. Bainbridge, known as "the voice" of the movement, and one of its most prominent figures. A powerful radio personality, featured daily on Ham-and-Eggs programs, he broke with the other directors and carried his attack to the public, denouncing the organization's "autocracy," and the alleged big profits made by Allen's Cinema Advertising Co.—"making a racket of people's needs." Despite his high prestige and the plausibility of his criticisms, he passed into oblivion as soon as he made them.



QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

A visit to the headquarters of the "Retirement Life Payments Association" leaves one with the impression of a large number of people of considerable intelligence and a vast sincerity, who have faith in their leaders but more faith in the idea. They are quite able to answer most of the stock criticisms. If you tell them it is unconstitutional they reply that the state already issues warrants which the banks accept, and that none of these new warrants claims to be legal tender. If you tell them that merchants will not accept the warrants, they answer that many have already promised and that popular pressure will force others into line. Moreover, the acceptance of the warrants in payment of taxes and their clearance through a state bank is expected to give them a value. If you tell them that the measure establishes an "economic dictator," naming the administrator in advance, they reply that the measure must get a fair chance by being administered by a man who believes in it, and that after four years he may be removed by popular vote. If you tell them that their leaders are racketeers, making money from them, the official organ retorts with a warning to all members to expect lawsuits and even criminal charges and arrests of leaders. "It is your movement," they say, "not Evans' nor Allen's. If they are arrested, you must carry on." This may be clever demagogy, but it may become true through belief.

Despite some autocracy in the setup, the ham-and-eggers clearly feel themselves in the ranks of the democratic forces, even in the vanguard of those ranks. A perusal of their excellently edited newspaper shows that it champions every progressive measure. It featured the charges of the La Follette committee against the Associated Farmers, and of Ickes against the bank-controlled press. It pictures conditions of migratory farm laborers: "Human Beings in Cardboard Shacks." The ham-and-eggers supported Governor Olson and the rest of the progressive ticket last November; they snowed under the anti-picket-



ORANGES, ORANGES, ORANGES. *Ham-and-eggers point out that as many as fifty six-ton trucks come up to this siding every day, dump full loads of oranges that the market can't use. They are good, full-bodied fruit, but they find their resting place in twenty-five of these dumps throughout southern California. But when the poor apply for relief they are handed a few of the miserable, dried-up oranges shown alongside the photographer's makeshift measure, his pack of gum. They contain about as much juice as an ordinary golf ball, wisecrack the ham-and-eggers.*

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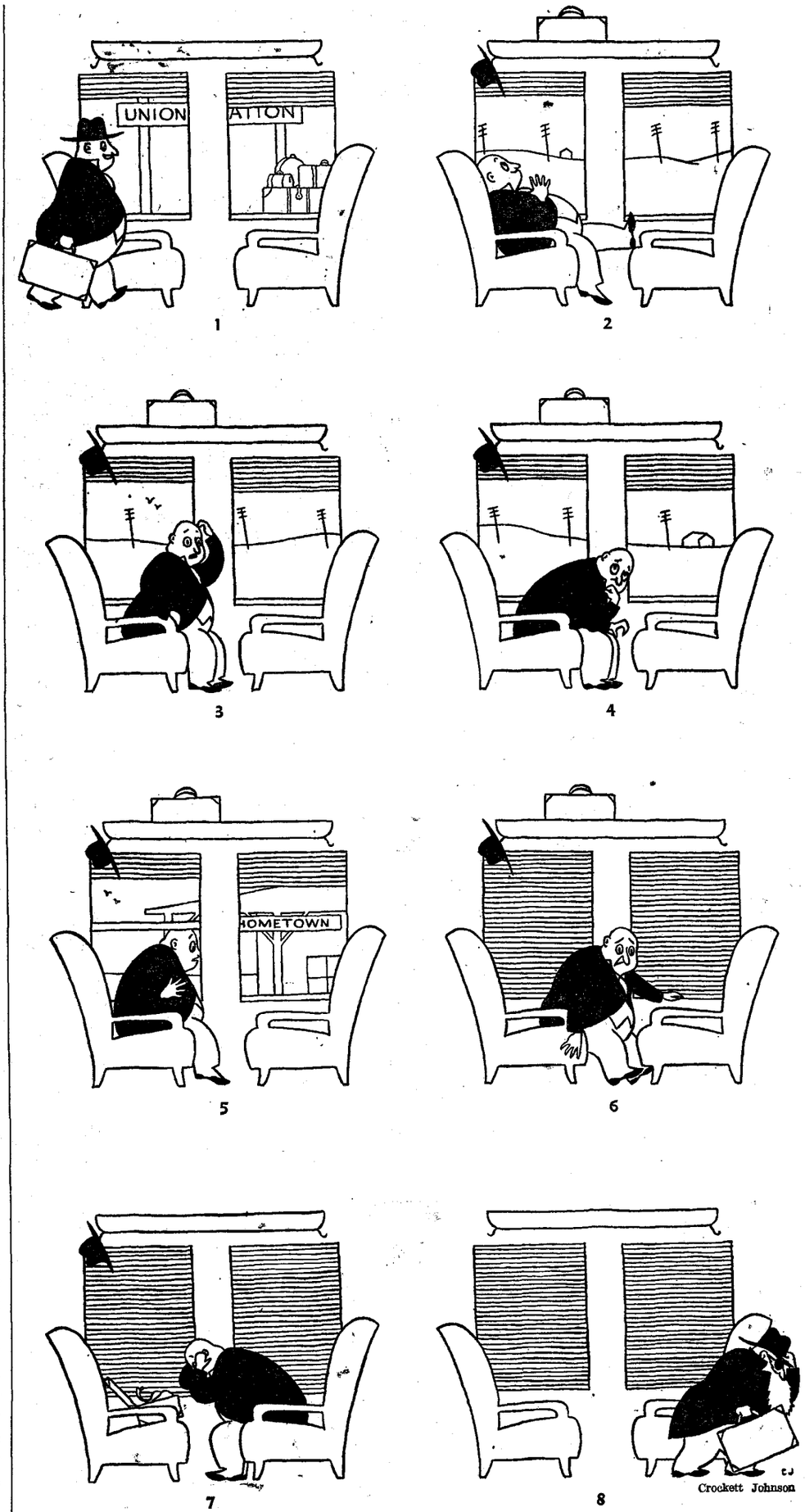
ing Proposition No. 1. Not because most of them love trade unions; they are largely middle class folk with a vague antipathy to strikes. But they reasoned, "Our enemies, the big capitalists, are for this measure. We oppose anything that they support."

The Ham-and-Eggs movement has dynamite in it; it may explode in any one of several ways. There will probably be no peace till it is tried in California, and there will almost certainly be no peace then. It places every labor organization and every honest progressive outside its ranks in this dilemma: which is better, that it should fail or that it should succeed? Hundreds of labor organizations are hastening to endorse it, even without believing that it will work. They welcome its energetic demand for security and plenty, and the support which ham-and-eggers gave to them in the last election fight. Many of them believe that the measure is a form of wild inflation, which will cut down living standards of everyone in the state. But even this seems to them a lesser evil than to say to a million eager people, "We deny you the right to make this test." For if this movement disintegrates without an honest trial, it may leave a mass of disillusioned people who have glimpsed a better world and been shut out of it, who have patiently tried each step of the democratic process and found it inadequate for them. Of such are made the passionate followers of fascism.

So Governor Olson says, "It is best to take this movement out of the domain of racketeering into the domain of public test." And Lieutenant Governor Patterson says, "I am glad to see that the pension movement and the forces of organized labor are joining hands . . . This experiment will focus the attention of the nation on the flaws in our monetary system and on the care of the aged . . . When the people understand more about their own banking, the control of credit and currency will again be vested in the people through their representatives in Congress." And the *People's World* says, "A defeat would be a victory for reaction and tend to disperse the progressive forces. Victory will compel attention to pensions as a national issue." These are reasons they give for supporting a movement whose economics they do not believe will work.

"It is tragic," said one of these progressives to me, "to see these eager, daring people hurling themselves so hard against the implacable rock of economic fact. For even if it is declared constitutional, even if the merchants are compelled to accept it, the sheer inflation will drag us all down."

"No, it is splendid, not tragic," said another, "to see a million people in motion, determined to solve the economic contradictions of our age. One thing is clear, that the democratic forces must keep together. If we split from these people, we turn them over to the demagogy of fascism. If we all keep together and try this plan honestly, and learn from it intelligently, then—even if we fail, we shall win." ANNA LOUISE STRONG.



Tory Congressman Goes Home

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The People Haven't Adjourned

Congress goes home after slashing much of the New Deal. How the tories ganged up on progress. The battle isn't over.

Washington.

WHEN Congress convened last January, the country sat in quiet trepidation wondering just what havoc the neophyte Republicans and their bourbon allies would wreak. Today, seven and a half months later, the fondest nightmares have materialized. WPA lies mutilated. "Neutrality" still threatens world peace. TVA has been hobbled and blinded. The lending program has been smashed and thrown aside. Housing, wages and hours, social security have been lashed and battered. "Investigations" ride the range, corralling "Red" propaganda, while anti-alien bills set the stage for fascism.

And yet, for the first three months of the session, the tories revealed as pitiful an ignorance of program or purpose as ever an oppositionist group displayed before the U. S. Congress. The days were filled with didoes. Great speeches were made. Breasts were beaten. The coalition flared into fury at the sale of planes to France and built themselves a mighty record of many words in which they defended the world from democracy. They took the bit in their teeth and champed $150,000,000 from the 1938 Relief Deficiency Bill —then round they turned and put $100,000,000 back again. The highly touted tories were a farce.

FIRST SURRENDER

And then, in mid-March, appeared the first signs of the ailment that was to lead the New Deal to the brink of the Valley of the Shadow. Tax revision was the issue of the day, and Henry Morgenthau was to be the bulwark of the hour. The tories wanted an end to undistributed profits taxes, the diminution of capital gains and top-bracket surtaxes. But Roosevelt had said "no" with certitude. The issue seemed closed. Then suave, appealing Johnny Hanes of Wall Street and the Treasury Department, close confidant of Mr. Morgenthau, introduced the germs of appeasement. With devious logic he persuaded the sympathetic secretary to "give the boys a chance." His plea ran: you are sure revision will not bring about prosperity; let them try it this year and when it fails, look how much stronger you will be in 1940. So Morgenthau and Hanes contrived to carry revision to the laps of the tories. It was not a coalition victory in battle. It was a New Deal concession. But it was the beginning of the end, for from it the tories gained confidence, rallied new allies from those who had been standing on the sidelines. By the end of May, the battle flags of reaction were billowing in the wind.

By now, too, major issues were rapidly coming to the fore, and the tories developed ways and means of meeting them. The Woodrum committee to investigate the WPA brought to a new height the fine technique of investigating to destroy. Around it the coalition built its attack. Yet here, too, the ultimate tory victory was not entirely tory-made. The failure of Roosevelt to press for adequate funds, and the open administration sponsorship and endorsement of the anti-prevailing-wage provisions did much to weaken the entire administration battle.

TREACHERY IN HIGH PLACES

As the opposition grew stronger, the administration became faced with more and more serious defections in its own ranks. Treachery reached even into high places, as well substantiated rumor found Speaker of the House Bankhead and Majority Leader Rayburn of Texas secretly joining the more openly intransigent Mr. Garner in the anti-WPA ranks. And Messrs. Bankhead and Rayburn have not been averse to using their high offices against the administration upon other occasions. For they were very active behind the scenes in consolidating the anti-wages-and-hours bloc that burst its cocoon in the last weeks of the session. Playing hand in glove with the potent tory corps on the House Rules Committee, they were responsible for more than one setback suffered by the administration during the past session.

The Rules Committee itself, however, was again, as last year, the driving power behind the tory attacks. Chairman Sabath, succeeding ex-Congressman John O'Connor, last year's tory leader, found himself hopelessly surrounded and overwhelmed by renegade Democrats and renascent Republicans, while dominating the committee were the two arch-demagogues of the year—Eugene Cox of Georgia and Howard Smith of Virginia. Between them, these two manipulated the bottleneck Rules Committee, through which all legislation must pass before reaching the House floor, to advance the cause of WPA mutilation and wages-hours revision, while hamstringing housing and social security.

The treachery in the House was combined with a woeful display of political ineptitude in the Senate, where sincere, hard working "dear Alben" Barkley was overwhelmed and outmaneuvered by the tory combination. Example *par excellence* of his lack of leadership ability was the debacle two weeks ago when the Lending Bill was wading its tortuous way through the Senate. In a vain effort to keep control of amendments, Barkley had the administration followers themselves introduce even the debilitating proposals planned by the opposition, while trying by compromise to take the sting out of them. For a while they succeeded in toning down the venom of the attacks. But when Barkley felt himself pushed to the wall and would concede no longer, the tories simply took over and completed the emasculation themselves. That done, it was no far step to the riotous assault by the House and the demolition it visited upon the New Deal cornerstone.

DEMORALIZATION

In the face of such constant, brutal attacks, it is not surprising that many of the New Deal members of the House in particular, and to a lesser extent of the Senate, should begin to feel the whip of demoralization. They rallied and fought bitterly to defend the WPA. But they were defeated. In the closing weeks of the session they sought once again to rally their own forces and to bring a few of the less recalcitrant tories into line by means of the traditional party caucus. Here again they ran into party treachery. Bankhead and Rayburn contrived for the meeting to be held on a Friday night, when most New York and Pennsylvania progressives are usually required to return to their home states to attend to long-standing appointments. And when the meeting convened, it was taken from their hands, and all the sting removed from the resolutions adopted at its conclusion.

Roosevelt himself might have done much during the course of the session to stem the disintegration of the New Dealers if he had taken a more active interest in their fate, and consulted more regularly with his rank-and file party members. (Even "Silent Cal" Coolidge had regular breakfast gatherings with his Congressional henchmen.) But his conversations never extended beyond the leadership, and the leadership plainly showed that it was not interested in maintaining party unity. The results were bound to be discouraging and disconcerting.

THEY CAN BE BEATEN

The Congress of the United States cannot be isolated from the country as a whole. The resurgence of reaction, the irresolution of the progressive forces, the Congressional attacks upon the Wages-and-Hours Act, the Wagner act, WPA, each and every touchstone of the New Deal, are but reflections of the growing turmoil and unrest developing within the country. Legislative and parliamentary tactics are important in winning political battles. But the real and fundamental solution to the political problems of 1939 lies in the lap of 1940 and the unity of labor and the progressives. Six by-elections in the past few months have shown that the reactionaries can be beaten. It now becomes a matter of life and death, of liberty or fascism, to build that into a nationwide front.

PAUL G. MCMANUS.

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So Congress Went Home

AN EDITORIAL

So Congress went home. The most reactionary federal legislature since Hoover put America back three or four years in the course of a few months and left Washington with press and business hosannas to speed them. When they get back where they came from, it may be a different story, but for the moment reaction can look upon its work and find it good.

For the men who controlled the Seventy-sixth Congress served their masters well. With some timidity at first, with fierce zeal when they discovered the effectiveness of their strategy, they rolled up their sleeves and went to work for the bankers of the nation, for the great industrialists and the men who control the press. It was for these people that they worked, for had they served the electorate, the masses of Americans, they would have done what the people asked for in 1936, when they voted for "decent, adequate housing," for "work at prevailing wages," for the promotion of "plans for rural electrification." But this Congress destroyed a plan that would have helped house the unsheltered; it abolished the prevailing wage on WPA; it emasculated the President's lending program. What it could not wreck, it decided to investigate—read smear—with an eye to wrecking at the first opportunity. The strategy, as Sen. Claude Pepper told the Senate on the closing day, was Machiavellian and divisive.

Congress went home, and the people's bill will be heavy. Already a half-million have been struck from project rolls. Already the communities are feeling the pinch of decreased buying power together with the weight of caring for those transferred from government employ to local relief agencies. Now, as for many months past, America is sensing the threats to its peace in world-wide military aggression, and it resents and scorns the Congress that preferred to do nothing, the Congress that let this country continue to aid those who would knife her.

But resentment and the consciousness of hurt are not enough. There must be a program to repair the damage and restore the New Deal. A road that leads back into the road to recovery must be found—must, if necessary, be built.

Congress did the damage, and Congress, under popular pressure, is the agency that must make amends. This means a special session or the devotion to old business of a considerable part of the next session. It means, since the President alone has the power to call a special session, that popular feeling must be directed toward him. It means that he should be called into conference with the people, that he should, as he himself has suggested, tour the country taking his case to the people and listening to theirs. It would be good for the people to hear the administration name the saboteurs, and it would be good for the administration to feel its strength in the country—for it has not always acted in full confidence.

The leadership must come from conscious, clear-minded progressives. The people are troubled and they are pondering the meaning of things. It is the job of men and women who know and understand to lead and guide and unify. They must call the people together and help them crystallize their feelings, make them see the need for full discussion and consultation. They must point out the bitter overtone of Red-baiting in the last Congress that not only did violence to a fighting bloc of democrats, but, under the guise of combating "Communism in the WPA," wrecked the lives and hopes of a group of people many times the number of the American Communists. "Remember the Woodrum bill" must be the watchword, the key to the understanding of Red-baiting. "Remember Hitler" might well be another, for the same hoax, carried further, aided the cause of the curse in Germany.

A program to get Congress back to work—but also a program for Congress when it gets back. WPA must be returned to full strength; all the crippling Woodrum amendments must be withdrawn. The Neutrality Act that mocks neutrality must go; in its place there must be a firm, anti-fascist peace policy that will serve only those who serve democracy. TVA must be loosed from the restrictions that now divert it from its first purpose—the beginning of a system of publicly controlled power sources. The several committees of investigation must be made to investigate the things America wants to know—the extent of fascist spying and sabotage, the illegal and unconstitutional practices of monopoly capital. Anti-alien bills and bills for the suppression of free thought and action—save, as in the case of the Nazis and Coughlinites, when freedom lends itself to overt activities threatening democracy—must be turned back to their un-American sponsors. And for recovery: the nationalization of the railroads, the inauguration of a housing plan similar to the defeated Wagner bill, the nationalization of the Morgan, Rockefeller, and Kuhn-Loeb money power.

Nothing short of such a firm program for recovery will suffice. Nothing short of a firm, militant New Deal will hold the people's confidence. These will save us from fascism. And the progressives have an opportunity that history does not often offer, to mold and lead the popular sentiment that wants these things.

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William Gropper

"Invasion of Cleveland, Cincinnati, Detroit, Chicago, and other key cities of the Middle West will begin in August."

from plans for the Christian Front in Father Coughlin's *Social Justice*, July 31

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They Can't Ignore Moscow

There's a reason why Hitler hasn't marched on the USSR. Look at the figures that Chamberlain would like to ignore.

Paris.

IF THE British and the French governments tell their people the results of the military missions to Moscow, they will make further appeasement a good deal harder. In addition to being straightened out on what the Soviets mean when they say "indirect aggression," they will learn the strength of an army they could not do without in a war against the fascists.

For all its strength, the Red Army is a military machine built up over twenty-two years solely to defend the land of socialism against its predatory enemies. It is a defensive army. But, while the Soviet Union will never fight an offensive war, it is prepared, like any good fighter, to carry the battle to the enemy.

How, then, does the Soviet strength match up to that of Germany, Italy, and Japan, the fascist powers who base their hopes on their ability to take the initiative? Here is a preview of what the military mission will learn.

At the end of last year Germany's frontline airfleet totaled 4,500 planes, that of Japan sixteen hundred out of an approximate total of 3,005, and that of Italy two thousand. Britain at this period had approximately 2,300 frontline planes and France four thousand planes in all, with a frontline strength of about 1,500. (Britain and France together today possess about ten thousand planes, but only about 50 percent of these can really be called "frontline.") Poland had between nine hundred and eleven hundred firstline and reserve planes. Thus the total strength of the fascist bloc in frontline machines stood at approximately 8,100 planes while Britain and France possessed only about five thousand.

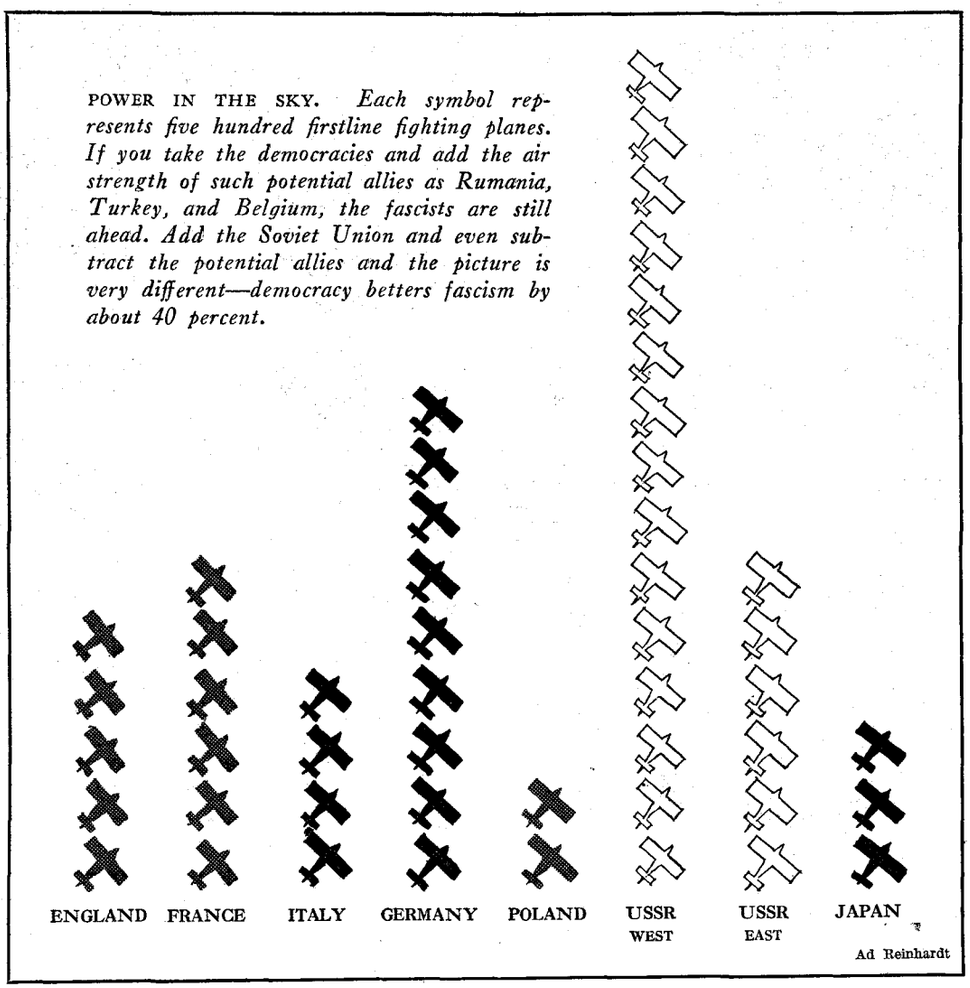
Even with Poland, Rumania (250), Belgium (three hundred), and Turkey, the democratic bloc excluding the USSR would be decisively inferior to the fascist powers in the air. The balance, however, could be more than made up with the Soviet airfleet. According to latest estimates (for March this year), the USSR has 3,500 planes in its Far Eastern airfleet alone of which 85 percent are frontline machines. In Europe its frontline strength stood at the beginning of the year at the very least at 7,500 and probably —if the enormous production of Soviet aircraft and motor factories is taken into consideration—it is as high as 8,500 to nine thousand (excluding seaplanes). Of this number about 21 to 23 percent are heavy bombers with a radius of action of two thousand miles and a ceiling considerably higher than that of Germany's crack Dornier plane. Light bombers, heavy fighters, etc., make up 26 percent, while 30 to 35 percent are pursuit planes—superior in every way, and especially over four thousand meters, to the best Nazi planes (Heinkel-51, Henschel-123, and the Messerschmidt).

If, finally, we recall that the bomb salvo of the Soviet European bombing fleet is six thousand tons as compared with the 2,995-ton salvo of Goering's bombers and the 1,534-ton salvo of the Italians, the offensive capacity of the Red Airforce is easily realized. Kokkinaki was not boasting when he said that there is not a town in Europe beyond the reach of Soviet bombing planes.

The offensive capacity of the USSR land forces is likewise tremendous. With a standing army of between 1,910,000 and 2,250,000 men (excluding the 100,000 frontier guards organized in seven divisions all completely moto-mechanized and the 150,000 Home Office troops) in peacetime and with 12,650,000 trained reserves, the Soviet Union can put into action almost immediately fifteen million men and within six months at least 22,000,000. This in itself is a potentially formidable offensive force and its significance is doubly clear when it is realized that the three fascist powers could in wartime mobilize at a maximum only 19,900,000 men.

But the offensive power of the Red Army is out of all proportion to its numerical strength because of the fact that it is more highly moto-mechanized than any other army in the world. For every man in the Red Army today there is an average of thirteen horsepower as compared with seven in 1934. The most important single material factor contributing to the offensive force of the Red Army is its tank corps. In 1935 it was generally agreed that the USSR possessed somewhere between six thousand and ten thousand tanks. Since then there has been an increase of 191 percent. If, then, we take the lowest estimate for 1935 we arrive at the figure of 17,460 for the total tank park of the Red Army. Actually there is very good reason to believe that the total number of tanks possessed by the Red Army in March this year was approximately 18,500 but, even if we take the lower figure, the Red Army tank park is approximately twice the size of that of the Reichswehr—8,700—and nearly twice that of Germany and Italy combined—9,800.

From the point of view of quality there is no doubt about the superiority of the Soviet tanks. Possessing medium and heavy types, which would be used as break-through tanks, in greater numbers than any other army, the USSR has not only modified and improved the Renault, Vickers, and Christie types but has developed its own special models, for example the MI and MII of thirty-three and thirty-six tons, with speeds of thirty and twenty miles an hour across country, and


POWER IN THE SKY. Each symbol represents five hundred firstline fighting planes. If you take the democracies and add the air strength of such potential allies as Rumania, Turkey, and Belgium, the fascists are still ahead. Add the Soviet Union and even subtract the potential allies and the picture is very different—democracy betters fascism by about 40 percent.
ENGLAND
FRANCE
ITALY
GERMANY
POLAND
USSR WEST
USSR EAST
JAPAN
Ad Reinhardt

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each with 75 mm. guns and three heavy machine guns (the MII has in addition two other 37 mm. quick-firing guns). Besides, there are the hundred-ton TG-5/T with a speed of twenty-five mph, a 105 mm. gun or a six-inch howitzer, two 37 mm. guns, two heavy machine guns, and two twin anti-aircraft machine guns.

In the other arms essential to a successful offensive strategy, artillery and cavalry, the Red Army is also well ahead of all the other powers. The German military organ *Militarwissenschaftliche Rundschau* declared quite openly in September last year that the Soviet artillery park was bigger than the combined artillery parks of the French, British, Italian, Japanese, and Polish armies.

In quality the Soviet guns are unquestionably superior. For example, the Soviet 76 mm. field gun has a range of over eight miles while the German 77 mm. has a range of well under seven miles; the Red 37 mm. anti-tank gun has a longer range than that of either the British Vickers 47 mm. or the new Swedish Bofors 37 mm. The Soviet 107 mm. AA gun has the longest range (trajectory and vertical) of any similar gun in the world.

FIRING POWER

In all, the Red Army has approximately 12,800 light guns (excluding AA guns for civilian defense); ten thousand anti-tank guns; 3,300 heavy guns and howitzers, and sixty thousand machine guns of all types but naturally excluding those mounted on her tanks and armored cars. As a result the firing power of a Red Army infantry corps (sixty thousand men, with artillery, tanks, and other arms) is today seventy-eight tons of metal a minute as compared to sixty tons for a French army corps and fifty-nine for a German corps.

It is useful to remember that the Germans are today advocating the use of cavalry as never before, provided it is used in great masses, is equipped with all the up-to-date weapons, and is trained to cooperate with tanks and motorized infantry. With thirty-four cavalry divisions in peacetime the Red Cavalry is stronger than that of Germany, Italy, Japan, Poland, and France put together —and Poland has the second largest cavalry army in Europe. Since 1934 a 52 percent increase in numbers has been accompanied by the following increases in technical equipment: automatic rifles, 30 percent; machine guns, 21 percent; AA machine guns, 31 percent; artillery, 43 percent; tanks per cavalry division, 30 percent. As an offensive arm the Red Cavalry is and will remain unparalleled.

There can be no doubt, then, that for the bloc of the pacific powers really to function as a defensive combination preventing further aggression, the inclusion of the Soviet Union in that bloc is essential. And that is why it is necessary not only for England and France to conclude a three-power pact of mutual assistance with Soviet Russia, but to back this by military conversations with the Red Army Staff.

RICHARD GOODMAN.

The Jungle Today

The packinghouse workers find the chink in Armour. Times have changed "back o' the yards."

"CITY COUNCIL ASKS ARMOUR TO NEGOTIATE WITH CIO" flashes down State Street from the *Daily Times* moving headline sign. A surgeon pries a bullet out of the shoulder of Herb March, district director of the Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee. This is the second time he has been shot at in six months. The union asks the aid of the government in averting a national strike in packinghouse. Bishop Sheil, vicar general of the Chicago Catholic Archdiocese, and Alderman Rowan receive anonymous threats of violence and are urged to stay away from the CIO rally of packinghouse workers by officials of the Chicago Federation of Labor and by representatives of the packing industry. The mayor of Omaha asks Armour to negotiate. The company increases and arms its police force. Alderman Paul Douglas, after hearing Armour officials before the City Council, says, "When Armour limits itself to hearing individual grievances it is not bargaining collectively." The union asks President Roosevelt to intervene.

Twenty thousand workers jam into Chicago's Coliseum to hear Bishop Sheil say that man has the inalienable right to the means of life for himself and his family. "A wage which does not meet these requirements is an unjust invasion of natural rights." Round and round in the hot hall parade CIO members and their wives, carrying banners from PWOC locals from Cedar Rapids, Ottumwa, Omaha, St. Paul, Milwaukee, Ft. Worth. John L. Lewis leans over the rostrum, his deep voice barely carrying into the mike—"Organize—organize—organize."

The "jungle" is alive. "Back o' the yards" is the hottest spot in the United States. In 1886 the yards workers tried to secure their inalienable rights, and in 1904, and again in 1917 to 1921—and each time they failed. But now in 1939 they know they're going to win. Things are different. Times have changed.

When the yards workers started to organize in 1917 under the leadership of William Z. Foster and Jack Johnstone, the working plan was that of an industrial federation locking the various craft unions firmly together under one council, one executive board, and one set of business agents, creating a solid front in the whole industry. The workers accepted this plan readily, since their big 1904 strike had been completely smashed because of disunity among the craft unions organized in separate and jangling councils.

With the government straining every nerve to feed the Allies, a threatened strike in 1917 brought the Federal Mediation Board to award a 10 percent wage increase, seniority, and other union demands. In the testimony J. Ogden Armour admitted a war profit of $40,000,000 in 1917. In March 1918, Federal Judge Alschuler handed down another award which provided for an additional 10 to 25 percent wage increase, a basic eight-hour day, extra time for overtime, equal pay for men and women doing the same kind of work, and a guarantee of five days' work per week in slack seasons. The award was retroactive, the 125,000 workers of the five big packers receiving $6,000,000 in back pay, or an average of $48 per worker. With enthusiasm the packinghouse workers greeted these terms as a great victory. They streamed into the unions and built solid organizations in every plant. The industry was thoroughly organized from top to bottom. More than 200,000 workers came into the dozen federated unions. This was the first mass production, trustified industry to be organized by the trade unions in America.

Then the AFL set up another "council." This was the fatal two-council system that had destroyed the 1904 strike. Only about two thousand members joined it. The Amalgamated Meat Cutters thereupon expelled forty thousand of their members who remained affiliated with the Stockyards Labor Council. The Chicago Federation of Labor protested but was warned by Gompers to keep its hands off. In the end there were three councils. By the fall of 1920 the organization was so much weakened that the packers, in step with the great post-war open shop offensive against organized labor, set up company unions, slashed wages, and fought the unions. The workers replied to these attacks by a national packinghouse strike. But though they fought heroically, they were defeated and their organization about wiped out. Sixteen years later Foster wrote:

> If the Greens and Hutchesons of today wish to know one of the many reasons why the workers in the basic industries want no more of craft unions and are demanding industrial organization, let them observe the tragedy of the packinghouse 1917-1921 movement.

So the yards workers went back to the jungle. But, starting in 1933, the struggle against the packers became active again. Out of these new efforts evolved organizational forms which shifted and altered until their final crystallization in the Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee, which was formally chartered after the October 1937 CIO conference. Van Bittner was chairman and Don Harris was appointed national director with Hank Johnson as his assistant. Johnson had been laying the groundwork of organization for some time, having been assigned there by the Steel Workers Organizing Committee. Last summer they signed up

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the "Little Six" packers in the Chicago yards. Last fall, after a successful strike of the livestock handlers, they signed up the Union Stock Yards & Transit Co. Of the twenty-nine Armour plants, the union claims a majority in seventeen (see box at right). In the two years of its existence the PWOC has gained forty signed contracts with independent packers.

ARMOUR FIGHTS BACK

Armour & Co. is desperate. At the time of the NLRB election in the Chicago plant, Armour refused to allow the vote to be taken on its property. They warned the workers that they were watching all the men and women who cast a ballot. They then closed up the two gates of the plant nearest the polling place and started tearing up the street at the third entrance. Despite all the company's efforts, 3,418 out of four thousand workers voted; 237 were against the CIO.

After the Circuit Court upheld the NLRB's order to dissolve the company union, a deal was made with the AFL. In November 1938 the company union was suddenly disbanded and all its members entered the plant wearing the buttons of a *new* AFL local—Local 661. The discredited AFL leaders are "Umbrella Mike" Boyle's lieutenant, Joseph Keenan, and Dennis Lane, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters official, who was accused years ago by John Fitzpatrick and Ed Nockles of the Chicago Federation of Labor of being an agent of the packers and a packer himself. Lane is said to own the Wimp Packing Co. AFL strength is indicated by the stock handlers' strike last fall when a "back to work" mass meeting was held with much ballyhoo in the newspapers and over the radio. Fifteen "loyal" workers attended.

This is what the packinghouse workers know: Out of fifteen basic industries, they rank thirteenth in wages paid. Out of seventeen industries, they rank third highest in accidents. Only building construction and mining are higher and both have natural hazards not found in packing. Seventy percent of the accidents are caused by working with razor-sharp knives under the speedup and in cramped quarters, and by the slippery floors. They have suffered under a vicious system whereby a worker loses seniority if he is laid off sixty days. Packing is a seasonal industry.

Health always has been a major problem in the yards. Tuberculosis is extremely high. A prominent doctor connected with a university hospital was requested by a group of yards workers to make an investigation. He was rebuked and refused permission by the company who told him that the facts of such an investigation, if made public, would increase their insurance rates. Large numbers of yards workers are wrecked after short periods of work. The commonest ailments are rheumatism, varicose veins, and tuberculosis. A serious health examination would throw so many workers on the streets that it would cause a national scandal.

Armour Voting

THE PWOC claims a majority in seventeen out of twenty-nine Armour plants. They have been so certified by the NLRB in fourteen; the others are awaiting certification. The majority for the union in the Chicago plant was thirteen to one. In every plant they have attempted to organize they have been successful. Here is the score:

	PWOC	Company Union	Against CIO	Against AFL
Chicago	2,840	...	237	...
Kansas City	1,049	768	...	...
St. Joseph	473	10	36	...
Mason City	580	...	205	...
South St. Paul	792	460	...	...
Denver	205	...	...	134

The votes in the Oklahoma City plant are being counted by the Labor Board now and an election has been ordered in the Armour Auxiliary plant in Chicago. In the Sioux City, West Fargo, Los Angeles, Indianapolis, Milwaukee, New York City, Birmingham, and East St. Louis plants the union has been certified by the NLRB without an election. The Omaha, Oklahoma City, and Ft. Worth plants are awaiting certification. But this does not even show the whole picture, for of the sixteen major Armour plants doing more than a local business, fourteen are certified or awaiting certification.

The callous contempt the packers have for the public has never been a secret. After a series of scandals the government was forced to intervene and establish inspection. Since 1923 all other foods, despite monopoly control, have dropped in price 20 to 50 percent —but not meat. Meat prices have been almost constant in the face of increased efficiency and cheaper costs of production. Present prices are about 95 percent of the 1923 level.

The union is asking Armour to negotiate nationally for those seventeen plants where the majority of workers are union members. The company says it is now negotiating on a plant-to-plant basis with the workers. But Armour's board of directors decides its national policy on wages, hours, and working conditions. No local plant manager can adjust anything but minor grievances. In a full page advertisement appearing nationally, Armour, like a feudal baron, attempts to speak for its workers. The statement says that Armour employees are satisfied. The fact that a majority of the workers have joined a union might indicate that they have an idea on that subject themselves. The only correct statement in the company advertisement is the thoughtful note "Reading time: four and three-quarter minutes."

PETE AND BILL

Walk down to the union hall some evening and talk to organizers Pete Brown and Bill Mooney while they turn out leaflets for tomorrow's distribution. Bill is the fellow who once attended a company union meeting to find out what was going on. The speaker launched into a Red-baiting attack on the CIO and wound up by saying that John Brophy was really a Russian. Bill got up and in his soft Irish brogue said, "What the speaker says is right. John Brophy was born in Russia. He was born in the same part of Russia I was—Ireland." Ask Pete Brown how the organization is going. The whole Negro people will look out of his eyes as he says, "We're almost 100 percent organized. It means real equality for all of us." Bill Mooney will slow down his mimeograph and grin and say, with the Irish in his speech, "Quit dreaming, Pete. Get going on those leaflets or we won't have them out tonight."

The union is trying hard to avoid a national strike with all its consequences. But whatever comes they know they are going to win. They learned the lesson of 1921. They are an industrial union and their unity is a solid one of Negro and white, Catholic and Protestant. Their union button has on it a white and a black hand clasped in union fellowship.

Those yards workers who live in the "jungle" and in Chicago's miserably crowded Negro area on the South Side want a living wage. They want to raise their families in decent homes. They want their children as healthy as the children who don't live in an area where infant mortality is the highest in the city. They want guaranteed seniority rights so that they will be treated in the plants like human beings, not like cattle.

There will be continual war in the yards until Armour signs a contract. The yards workers know what a strike in packing will mean to farmers, storekeepers, and the public. They're waiting now to see if public opinion —your opinion—will help them compel Armour to obey the law.

But they're not going to wait much longer. If Armour won't—well, as Van Bittner said, "There's going to be the damnedest strike you ever saw."

TOM HARDWICK.

"Nazi Spy" a Hit

PART of the reactionary assault on *Confessions of a Nazi Spy,* led by Father Coughlin among others, has been the charge that the picture is a boxoffice flop. Tory movie producers have offered this as a reason for keeping other anti-fascist scripts on the shelf. The first official boxoffice figures on the film tell a quite different story. In England the picture has been held over in 165 out of three hundred theaters and the London engagement opened to a gross $6,000 better than the previous record for a Warner Bros. film. The London run is now eight weeks old. The four Paris theaters running *Nazi Spy* are breaking records. In Poland the spy expose has become a symbol of the people's firmness against Nazi plans, and theaters have become the scene of anti-fascist demonstrations. In Mexico the picture is 70 percent above average. In the United States *Nazi Spy* is grossing better than the average of high budget productions.

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Judge Lynch in New York

The boys hadn't heard about such things in New York. Then they discovered Coughlin and the lynch-mobs of the Empire State.

THE boys hadn't heard about such things in the North. All year they had attended a Southern college located at least forty miles from any neighboring towns. It was a Negro school and since it was so isolated they saw few white faces during the year except those of visitors from the North, who were said to give large sums of money to the school and for whom they were made to parade about the campus to the music of the school band. At the close of the term they had planned to remain at school, working to earn expenses for the coming term. But there had been no work for them at the school, or in the cotton country surrounding the school, or in the little towns or large Southern cities. Things in the South were tough.

So the boys, Edward Meggs, Harry Smith, and Marvin Jackson, decided to go North, to New York. They had been told of work to be had on river boats sailing up and down the Hudson. They scraped money together and came North, to Harlem, and began a search for jobs. There were no jobs. Still, though they found no work and saw the relief lines and heard about Congress and the WPA, they did not become discouraged.

FREE FROM JIM CROW

Harlem was wonderful. They saw Joe Louis on the street and saw movies of his fight with Galento; and a certain tension that they had known in the South even at the isolated Negro school was not with them anymore. The North was all right; they ate unchallenged in the Automat.

That day, Tuesday, July 25, they had gone to Brooklyn to check on a job, but the man had said that the jobs were for whites and they had taken the Eighth Avenue back to Manhattan, stopping off on Forty-second Street to walk over to the Sixth Avenue employment row. On the way over they passed the movie houses and a line of men on the sidewalk selling a magazine called *Social Justice*. One of the men hollered "nigger" as they passed and for a moment it had been unlike New York.

Then they had seen on the corner a bunch of the same men beating a man that looked like a Jew. They had watched in the crowd for a while, then gone on to Sixth Avenue, talking about what they had seen. They soon forgot it—"New York is a strange town"—after all, it was just white folks fighting white folks. They spent the day covering the downtown section, without success.

That evening all three had eaten in their room at 417 West 150th St., near St. Nicholas Avenue, and then had gone out to the street for a breath of air and to see the sights. The evening had been sultry and there had been no seats in the little park at the intersection of St. Nicholas Avenue and St. Nicholas Place. Then one of the boys had remembered having seen the Hudson breaking in the slanting sun the afternoon before, when he had gone up to Amsterdam Avenue to buy food. They decided to go over and watch the Hudson; they had often watched the Mississippi in the South. They walked past strolling couples along 150th Street, across Broadway down to Riverside Drive.

THE COPS

It was quiet on the river. People sat on the benches talking softly and enjoying the breeze off the water. There were boats at anchor on the river, riding lazily in the current's flow. Beyond the river was the shore of Jersey, aflame with the brilliant colors of the setting sun. They found a bench and talked of home, the South, watching the sun sinking slowly in the West. A purple haze was fading to a gray mist, shrouding the shore. Buses passed, cars, boys on bicycles. New York was swell. Even if they didn't find jobs in time to return to school the experience was worth it. Here was the affirmation of a vague hope, a timid faith. The tension of the South was gone and the sun sinking across the river, the river-washed breeze, the boats in restful motion, brought a peace deeper than the darkness cloaking the Jersey shore.

They did not see the car when it stopped. When they looked up the policemen were standing before them.

"Stand up there, you!"

They stood.

"You, nigger! You got a knife on you?"

"No, sir."

"You?"

"I don't have anything."

"You, black boy?"

"No, sir."

"Search 'em there, Burke."

The policeman searched them, finding no knives.

"All right. Don't you boys know better than to be over here across Amsterdam Avenue?"

"No, sir. We didn't know anything about it."

"Well, we've been having a lot of trouble over here between the white boys and the nigger boys, so you better get back down to your section."

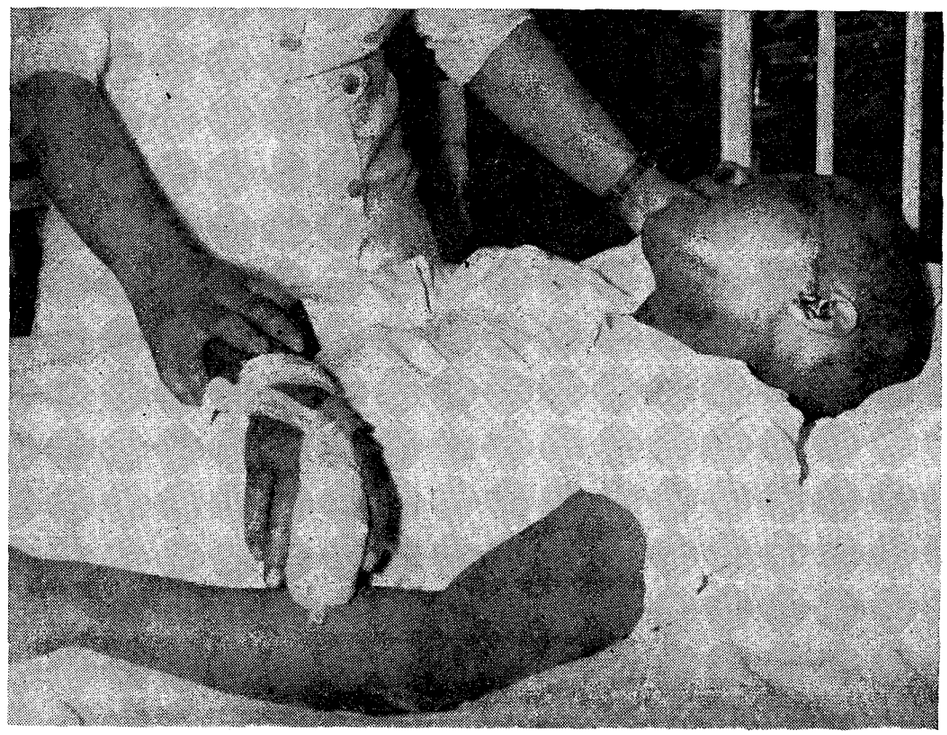
"Yes, sir. We haven't been up here long and we didn't know anything about it."

"Well, you know now."

"Yes, sir."

"Go wan then, beat it."

They watched the policemen in their blue shirts as they started towards 150th Street. They hurried, going silently. When they looked back the policemen were getting into the green and white car and moving off. The car passed them as they climbed the hill from Riverside Drive to Broadway. Going up, the street was quiet and they wondered if the policemen weren't just having some fun. Anyway, it was late and they might as well get back. They passed Broadway. One Hun-



MOB VICTIM. *Verne Walker, a railroad cook, in a serious condition in Harlem Hospital after a beating by New York "vigilantes."*

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dred Fiftieth Street was dark and at the top of the hill they saw an Amsterdam Avenue street car passing.

It happened suddenly. A couple of boys were coming toward them from the top of the hill, blocking their path, then there was a rush behind them and they found themselves surrounded. They took a step to pass through and blows rained upon their heads. Edward Meggs went down. Harry Smith and Marvin Jackson fought blindly, feeling fists, kicks, rough cutting edges.

"Lynch the niggers!"

"Throw 'em in the river!"

"Teach the black bastards to stay off Amsterdam Avenue!"

Harry Smith and Marvin Jackson fought, staggering under blows from all directions, until a crowd gathered and the mobsters ran. Edward Meggs lay senseless upon the sidewalk, with a concussion of the brain. An ambulance arrived and their wounds were treated. A policeman from the 152nd Street station took their names and addresses. Meggs was rushed to Harlem Hospital. Newspaper men asked questions. Some of the crowd spoke of Father Coughlin. Someone said that Negroes were trying to take over the neighborhood. Some expressed indignation over what had happened. Some gave them unfriendly looks. They went down the hill home, sore and bandaged of body and bewildered of mind.

The boys hadn't heard of such things in the North and they can't quite understand. Since then they have learned that a few nights before their own experience Alex Miller of 371 Convent Ave., a visiting schoolboy from Atlanta, Ga., was beaten while walking through a playground at 148th Street and Riverside Drive and thrown into the river; he missed drowning only because a white longshoreman who happened to be passing did not share the feelings of the mob and rescued him. They learned that the night before Verne Walker, a railroad cook, was snatched from his wife and child, beaten, and kicked into a gutter at Riverside Drive and 149th Street and now lies near death in Harlem Hospital. They were told that this terror has been in progress since spring of last year and that recently, near the end of the school term, the pupils of the Edward W. Stitt Junior High School, 164th Street and Edgecombe Avenue, engaged in a race riot in which many were injured.

The boys understand now that there is a housing problem in the Washington Heights section. They are beginning to understand that certain individuals want the Negroes segregated as rigidly in New York as they are in the deep South, and that an attempt is being made to bottle Negroes up in the narrow confines of Harlem to the advantage of those landlords who charge exorbitant rents. But they could not understand when they were told that the mob that set upon them is backed by a priest far away in Michigan, and that its members are part of what is known as the *Christian* Front. Nor can they understand why the mob turned up so soon after the police searched them and sent them up the street, or why no arrests were made. They asked around as to why the Negroes didn't fight back and were told that whenever Negroes started over the hill police cars appeared suddenly and drove them back though, strangely, the police cars are never on hand when Negroes are being beaten.

The Negroes, however, *are* fighting back, but in a democratic way. Following the assaults, the Greater New York Coordinating Committee for Employment held a meeting of protest and complained to Mayor LaGuardia, who ordered Deputy Chief Inspector Di Martini of the police department to a meeting called by the committee to investigate these incidents. And in contrast with the minority of the Washington Heights neighborhood that encourages mob violence against Negroes, other citizens, both Christian and Jewish, met with Negro leaders under the joint auspices of the Washington Heights and Inwood Coordinating Committee and the Committee on Behalf of Persecuted Minorities and denounced those responsible for the terror and took steps to end it. Every effort is being made to curb these incidents, which, if allowed to continue, are sure to precipitate the sort of emotional reaction that made for the riots of 1935. RALPH ELLISON.

Appeaser in Tokyo

Sir Robert Craigie, British envoy, plays the Chamberlain game.

SIR ROBERT CRAIGIE, British envoy to Tokyo, is the key man in Oriental appeasement. He has developed a pro-Japanese attitude so marked that the Japanese themselves are startled. Acting for British bondholders in Japan, Sir Robert is described as the best man in the foreign office at writing a report before breakfast proving that black is white, and one before lunch proving that black is blue. Staff members of the Tokyo embassy quite openly call him "impossible" and a "public menace."

Sir Horace Wilson also believes it is pos-

Gardner Rea

MAJOR NERTZ OF THE FASCIST SHIRTS

"In eternal bronze, of course, and TWICE as high as that Russian person."

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sible to achieve an "understanding" with the Japanese, and false reports spread by the British Admiralty assist the appeasement against struggling China. The reports state that it is impossible to maintain the naval strength against Japan in the East with the Hitler menace ever present at home. This is true but it's only half the recommendation of naval observers. This statement is followed by an urgent plea for maximum support of the Chinese dollar and a strong use of the financial instead of the military power against the Japanese. British tories are already bolstering Japan's strength by an agreement implicit in the Tokyo negotiations, which would hand over fifty million ounces of Chungking silver at present stored in the British concession at Tientsin. This would restore Japan's buying power, force the abandonment of the United States flat-rate silver buying policy in order to avoid actually subsidizing the Japanese, force down world silver prices, and seriously strain the Indian treasury. Moscow is asking William Strang why his government seeks a pact in the West and encourages a Soviet enemy in the East.

The Strike Against Hearst

HAVING completed their biggest and busiest week since the strike started, Chicago newspaper guildsmen are today engaged in another "big push" against Hearst's *Evening American* and *Herald & Examiner*.

Last week's activities were climaxed by the longest and liveliest parade yet staged by the strikers. Thousands of Loop shoppers cheered as the guildsmen, led by three Indians, wound their way through downtown streets at noon Saturday. Chanting, "Don't read Hearst!" and "We want a contract!" the 150 marchers paraded for more than an hour.

In response to intensified advertising pressure through public opinion, three large national advertising accounts were pulled out of the struck papers. Circulation continues to drop at a rapid rate. Media Records, Inc., reveals that the struck papers have lost 394,318 agate lines of advertising for first twenty-six days in July as compared to the similar period last year. The strike total lineage loss stands at 4,602,056. Of the July loss, the *American* dropped 100,902 lines or 23.2 percent: the *Her-Ex* 293,416 lines or 52 percent.

Bearing its streamer: "Strike! Don't read the *American* or *Examiner*," the guild plane is touring the Chicago skies twice a week. Millions of Chicagoans and visitors have received the strike message.

Nazi Definition

LITTLE children in Nazi Germany are asking these days, "What is a globe?" The reply goes like this: "It is the Rome-Tokyo-Berlin axis surrounded by vital living space." Likewise, the little children of Japan inquire, "What is an island?" The answer is: "It is a British concession, surrounded on all sides by Japanese troops."

Dickinson at Home

A whiskey-abhorring but evil old man is kind to horses and cruel to kids. Graft in the Michigan State House.

Lansing, Mich.

LURID LUREN DICKINSON, the Michigan governor who thinks New York City is Sodom and Gomorrah plus Babylon, recently acted on two bills in the same day. One was a bill to okay the cutting of horses' tails. Luren said it was "too cruel" and refused to sign it. The other was a bill to cut the appropriation for the state's home for crippled children from $3,000,000 to $800,000 per year. The octogenarian Republican passed on the cut without comment.

Only twelve or fourteen kids remain in the university hospital, where most of the work was done. All the rest have been sent home. Many in the midst of treatment for infantile paralysis were dismissed with plaster casts on their twisted limbs, and they will not be taken back unless they are "emergency cases." Luren's idea of an emergency is a young girl with a glass of beer.

Medical authorities in Michigan say the crippled children will be taken in only "when they are near death or in such unbearable agony that they must be treated immediately or lose their minds as well as their bodies."

"Would you describe more fully what you mean?" we asked one doctor who had been involved in this work. "I mean this," he said. "One father writes us that his little boy is growing so rapidly that the leg cast has become painfully tight, so tight, in fact, that there is immediate danger that the blood circulation will be blocked. This child's cast should be changed, but we have no funds."

The doctor said that the lad's father had written that the only solution in view was to stop feeding the child in order to halt growth.

Cases by the score are readily shown to the press by medical authorities, who are fearlessly meeting the situation by calling on the people of Michigan to save the crippled children by stopping the gaffer governor from further "acts of economy."

The doctors told us of others who suffer by Dickinson's aged scrawl on the appropriation bill:

Case G: Girl, 19, Ionia County. Osteomyelitis with acute infection of the bone. Requires immediate operation for bone fragment in the knee.

Case H: Girl, 15, Mecosta County. Multiple keloids. Pre-cancerous areas should be removed as soon as possible.

Case I: Boy, 5, Berrien County. Lung cysts and pus in the chest cavity. Requires constant attention and continuing therapy.

Case J: Boy, 12, St. Clair County. Foreign body in left knee joint. Must remain in cast, in bed. Mother writes she cannot keep unusually active child immobile; fears irreparable damage.

Case M: Boy, 5, Isabella County. Stricture of the esophagus. Walls of the esophagus must be dilated periodically to permit passage of food. Unless hospital procedure is accorded, patient will die through inability to swallow.

Naturally, this has received no attention in the press in Michigan or elsewhere. When the pressing cases were brought to Dickinson's attention, he said, " Some people like to make a big thing out of this but lots of chiseling physicians motivated my act."

The audacity and hypocrisy of a statement like this is seen in the present graft-ridden state departments which the governor refuses to touch. The State Purchasing Department, for example, is in such a mess that even a Detroit newspaper has had to call it an "eyesore to good government." Shortages of many thousands of dollars are alleged. Hardly a man in Michigan does not know that this is the work of the Republican incumbents, who have been divvying spoils since January.

The Michigan State Liquor Department is supervised by, of all people, the head of the Anti-Saloon League, Murl Defoe. Dickinson appointed Defoe and said, "He is a right and honest man for this job." But the federal government is now investigating the department to learn about a scheme to take $300,000 from the distillers for "advertising."

The people of this state are horrified by what the governor does inside and outside his Michigan bailiwick. They swamp the letter boxes with protests and will probably swamp the polls next year. WILLIAM ALLEN.

Tammany Tricks

A SOBER statistical study by our contemporary, *State of Affairs,* underlines the need for unity of all progressives in New York's 1939 councilmanic election, if the anti-Tammany majority of the people are to be represented by a progressive City Council.

Tammany in 1937 received only 35 percent of the first-choice votes for Council, yet elected fifteen out of twenty-six councilmen. One reason for this was the fact that Tammany kept its list of candidates short, so that the voter could "vote every star," while the progressives had over 180 candidates in the five boroughs. As a result, 96.5 percent of all Tammany's first-choice votes were transferred until they counted for some winning Tammany candidate, while 45 percent of all progressive voters failed to mark enough choices on their ballot to have it count for any winning candidate. In effect, these votes were wasted.

Furthermore, Tammany "zoned" its candidates, assigning each a specific area where he would be the sole Democrat appealing for first-choice votes. The purpose of this was to see that all Tammany candidates received sufficient first-choice votes to keep them in the running. If the American Labor Party had thus distributed its first-choice votes, Gelo would have been elected in place of the "peanut-fascist" Surpless in Brooklyn.

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★

Dead Balance in Europe

THERE are more armed men "in serried array" on the fields of Europe now than there were twenty-five years ago in the first week of the first World War. Germany's mid-summer mobilization reaches a peak of at least 2,500,000 men. Italy has up to 600,000 soldiers engaged in maneuvers in the Po valley, thwarting a "Red" army advancing from the French frontier. Seven hundred and fifty thousand men are encamped in Britain. France reports a million men in arms. Bulgaria and Hungary, as well as Rumania, Greece, and Jugoslavia, witness troop movements involving at least two million. In eastern Thrace, Turkey displays her military might. One million Poles stand in watchful waiting over possible developments at Danzig. The weekend statement by Marshal Smigly-Rydz is reassuring, especially since he is known to be in conflict with Foreign Minister Beck and others in the Polish government who are sounding out Berlin for some settlement on the Baltic.

The Nazis continue to inspire clashes between Bulgaria and Hungary, on the one hand, against Rumania on the other. Since last March, the possibilities of a Nazi move down the plains of Jugoslavia have existed; that prospect is still there, especially with the divisions between the Croats, led by Matchek, and the Jugoslav government.

The House of Commons adjourned until October 3 under protest, not only from the Liberal-Labor Opposition but from an unusually large number of Conservatives. Even on a vote of confidence, the normal government majority of 250 was cut to 116. What with contradictory statements from Lord Halifax ("I cannot encourage anyone who feels complacent about the situation") and Sir Thomas Inskip ("War is unlikely, and the British government has good reasons for saying that") the real danger lies, not in the mobilization of men, but in the mobilization of confusion. Even the dispatch of the military mission to the Soviet Union does not wholly allay suspicion. The mission would be much more reassuring had the Anglo-Soviet pact been signed. Whatever the strength of Germany's Siegfried Line, or any other fortification, the real line of least resistance remains among that small group of Anglo-German "fellows" who dominate British foreign policy. In politics, there is no such thing as spontaneous combustion. The real question remains: Are the waters of appeasement still flowing under London Bridge this summer?

To the Catacombs

IN A hymn of praise to fascist Italy, that Rosenberg of Royal Oak named Dr. J. S. Barnes wrote in the July 31 issue of *Social Justice:*

> Social Reform is going on apace. There has lately been an extension, for example, of the system of compulsory insurance, while the benefits have been correspondingly increased.

Characteristically, no details are given. The Rome correspondent of the New York *Times,* however, supplied the details on August 3. It seems that over three thousand Catholic Mutual Aid societies in Italy have just been absorbed by the fascist regime. Emulating Father Coughlin, Achille Starace, secretary general of the fascists, has simply applied to them Principle 3 of the Social Justice program which calls for "nationalization of important public resources."

According to the *Times,* these Catholic benevolent societies

> are understood to have large capital reserves, "several hundred million lire," the writer was told, and some members of the organization are inclined to believe that is the reason they are going to be absorbed.

The poor Catholic workers and peasants of Italy, unable to afford subscriptions to *Social Justice,* are evidently under the impression that they are being robbed.

Last week the Catholic Action organization of Italy was further coordinated into non-existence. The director generalship of Catholic Action was abolished. Its members were forbidden to wear its insignia on their fascist uniforms. All its lay directors were dismissed. Its new constitution forbids its members to take any part in politics, secular public affairs, or any non-religious matter. Its next step is the Catacombs. But the Vatican need not fear for the future—*Social Justice* will explain it all away as quickly as Herr Goebbels and Signor Gayda can think up the answers.

Classroom on Angel Island

IN DRAMATIC contrast to the ring of forgers, spies, and racketeers produced as witnesses by the prosecution, Harry Bridges last week gave his examiners a lesson in courage, integrity, and forthrightness. The Pacific Coast CIO leader placed the prosecution on trial. He showed that the effort to deport him is part of the fight waged by corporate interests against the American people. In the course of his testimony, Bridges converted the hearing on Angel Island into a seminar on first principles in economic and political democracy.

Denying categorically that he is or ever was a Communist, Bridges insisted on the full right of Communists to participate in trade union activity. Indeed, as Bridges pointed out, Communists in the trade unions have been helpful in building up a democratic and vigorous labor movement. When the prosecution attempted to get Bridges to state his "belief" in class strife, he asserted that conflict between big business and labor is not a theory but a fact, and he went on to give a realistic description of the existing situation. Expressing his opposition to violence, Bridges condemned the National Guard, the National Association of Manufacturers, and Associated Farmers as organizations responsible for the shedding of workers' blood.

One of the highlights of the testimony was Bridges' stress on the identity of interest among industrial workers, farmers, clerks, small merchants, and professionals. The prosecution tried to get Bridges to set workers off against an omnibus category called the "bourgeoisie." Bridges carefully pointed out that his conception of the "bourgeoisie" included "the trusts, the corporations, or the individuals in those corporations—the Henry Fords, the Morgans, and the Tom Girdlers." Against this small minority of vested power, all wage earners, small farmers, and shopkeepers must organize for the advancement of their mutual interests.

Bridges spoke as a progressive trade union leader who is sincerely concerned with democracy, which he defined as "rule by the majority and in the interests of the majority." It was against the will and the interests of the majority that the plot against Bridges was hatched some years back. The forces behind the plot and the weakness of their case have already been sufficiently exposed in the first four weeks of the hearings. And the defense has only just started!

Krivitsky-Levine Again

W. O'D. PIERCE, author of the book *Air War,* just published by Modern Age, makes a point that all students of foreign affairs should well understand. The democratization of the armed forces, as achieved by the Soviets, he writes, adds to the efficiency of the military and helps weed out the traitors within the ranks. He used the example of the Trotskyist trials to indicate how the eradication of the spies strengthened the military of the USSR. As Major Allen Johnson indicates in this issue of NEW MASSES, the reports of the general staffs confirm Mr. Pierce in this statement. Anti-Soviet publicists have put it otherwise, but the war offices understand these matters better. They are not kidding themselves, as the army missions to Moscow indicate.

The aforementioned publicists have been exceedingly busy these past years: chief among these accessories to Hitlerism are the Trotskyites, guided by their mentor Herr Leon. They divide their functions—some operate in the labor movement, others in the general press, still others as spies and disrupters among

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progressives everywhere. Recently, one of their busier propagandists has been the spurious "General Krivitsky." We have had occasion to deal with him in previous issues. He turned up again in the tory *Satevepost* last week and his *collaborator,* Isaac Don Levine, as editor Wesley Stout calls him, did a hot job out-Oppenheiming Oppenheim. This time Krivitsky-Levine let the cat out of the bag for good. "I saw Sedov almost daily," he writes, "and came to admire this son of Trotsky as a personality in his own right." He is eternally grateful for the *"disinterested help and comfort"* which Sedov gave him.

It was obvious in the context of "Krivitsky's" articles hitherto that he cast a Trotskyist line: now he admits specific connections. In his latest effort, this Trotskyist agent dishes up all the gutter-slanders that have appeared in White Guard and Nazi propaganda in recent years: murders abound, spies are thick as flies. Czarists feel happy about these rewrites of their "revelations": *Novoye Russkoye Slovo,* of August 2, chortles over the "general" and assures its readers that "Krivitsky will not be deported. He will be the chief witness for the Dies committee when its sessions begin." The circle is complete.

China's Silver

APPEASEMENT in the Far East revolves, in large part, around whether or not the British will hand over the fifty million ounces of Chinese silver, property of the Chungking government, now stored in the Tientsin concession. That is what the Japanese want, for the Chinese silver would bolster their foreign exchange, and upset Chinese relations on the international silver market. The United States would be forced to abandon its silver purchases in order to avoid virtual subsidy to Japan. The world price of silver would fall, thereby embarrassing the treasury of India, and incidentally react against nations such as Mexico for whom silver is vital.

The Japanese are placing further pressure upon Great Britain. British business men must now pay for two more Yangtze steamers, destroyed by Japanese airplanes. The blockade against Tientsin continues, and the Japanese seem to be counting on men like Sir Robert Craigie to accede to their wishes. The British government is caught in the contradictions of its own making. Sacrificing British national interest in China, men like Sir Horace Wilson and Sir John Simon exert enough influence in Whitehall to give the Japanese encouragement in their continued British-baiting.

Chamberlain told the House of Commons that the Japanese outrages made his "blood boil." But the threat of sending a few warships to the Far East will fool no one. Warships are hardly necessary. Britain has only to stand firm on the silver, give maximum support to the Chinese dollar, and take steps to abrogate her own trade treaty with Japan if Mr. Chamberlain's normal temperature is to be restored.

In Japan, her most reactionary elements are increasing their agitation for adherence to the military alliance with Rome and Berlin. Oshima and Shiratori seem to have arranged for that step in their Lake Como meeting with the Italian and Nazi envoys. The alliance itself may be consummated just after the Nuremberg Congress in September. Likewise, changes may be expected within the Japanese Cabinet.

If it is true that appeasement brings further demands (and that is certainly true) then only a firm and decisive policy toward Japanese aggression can exert a sobering influence upon Japanese politics. The Japanese themselves reveal their worry over Western firmness by the renewed assaults upon American citizens and American property in China. In the effort to frighten American public opinion, and help along the agitation of American isolationists, the Japanese themselves betray which policy they fear most: the British or the American. Obviously, the next step for the United States is to impose countervailing duties upon Japanese imports under the 1930 tariff law, to be followed, as Senator Pittman suggests, by a Congressional embargo in January.

USA-USSR Trade Pact

PERHAPS the best argument against the shibboleth that "Communism is just as bad as fascism" can be found in Soviet-American trade relations. Only a week after the State Department abrogated its 1911 trade treaty with Japan, the fifth of a series of trade treaties with the Soviet Union was renewed until August 1940.

American exports to the Soviet Union have steadily increased in dollar value since recognition of the USSR by the Roosevelt adminis-

Mischa Richter

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tration in the middle of 1933. From a low of only $10,000,000 in 1932, American exports have risen to a value of over $65,000,000 in 1937-38. Importing primarily metal goods and machine building equipment, the Soviet Union has thus contributed to employment rolls in the basic, mass production industries. On the other hand, the United States has been buying Soviet goods valued at about $20,000,000 annually in the last three years, resulting in a favorable trade balance for this country.

In fact, Soviet-American trade relations have been free from those influences which are disturbing world trade as a whole. Unlike the fascist countries, the Soviet Union does not have to ration her exports in order to buy. Because of her Socialist economy, and her rising gold production, the Soviet Union buys what she needs and sells only what her customers want.

For some time now, certain American anthracite interests have complained that Soviet coal exports are hurting the American coal industry. Arguments from these quarters have also supplied certain reactionary leaders of the American Federation of Labor with propaganda against Soviet-American trade amity. Domestic anthracite interests even have a suit pending against a Treasury ruling which eliminates excise taxes on Soviet coal. The trade treaty which just expired, however, permitted the USSR to export 400,000 tons of anthracite to the United States. The fact is that only 134,000 tons were exported to this country in the first nine months of the past year, which certainly disproves the charges that Soviet trade materially hampers domestic producers.

The GM Contract

Not since the great sitdowns of 1937 have the automobile workers won a victory as important as the UAW contract in the General Motor tool and die plants. The 7,600 strikers and the fifteen thousand covered by the contracts will gain, of course, but the victory drums will be heard far outside the auto country. Reactionary unionism, exemplified by Homer Martin's AFL clan, and the general drive on decent wages, begun by the abolition of the WPA prevailing wage, went down to defeat along with the GM officials.

Seventy-six hundred workers won a strike, but 150,000 others employed by the same corporation go back to work knowing that their own jobs and wages are further safeguarded because the 7,600 won for themselves decent wages, shorter hours, overtime pay. Small business men serving the auto workers will know that the grocery money is not less. Workers in the mine region, where leaders of the AFL Progressive Miners are trying to pull a Martin, and in the maritime unions, where King and Carlucci attempted disruption, will see in the auto victory the kind of unionism that pays off to the workers.

Readers' Forum

Havelock Ellis

To New Masses: With great interest I read your editorial on Havelock Ellis in the July 25 issue. I was very happy that you wrote so sympathetically of him, as I was fortunate enough to count myself among his friends. It might interest you to hear a bit about him from this angle. I am particularly interested in supplying firsthand proof for a statement you made as follows: "In later years he seldom let his position be known, but it was said by those close to him that he sympathized with the people of republican Spain, the victims of international fascism, the oppressed and fighters against oppression everywhere."

I would like to give you a little background before quoting to you from the next to last letter I received from him. To show you his extreme tolerance and patience as well as respect for people as humans, let me first say that I am not a woman of nearly his age, but will soon be twenty-five. Nevertheless, on looking through my correspondence with this man, I found that I have in my possession nearly twenty letters over a period of the last nine years.

Now, the immediate background for what I want to quote is important in order to appreciate the quotation. For many years he argued with me that he was against "all violence, including class war" which he always called the "worst kind of war." He was a "pacifist" and said so. Then, he dearly loved Spain. Before his health began to deteriorate, or rather his vitality to decline, he used to spend about one-third of every year in Spain. How could he reconcile his pacifism with his love for Spain and her people? I worried about it so much that I wrote him about it at some length, telling him that if he maintained his pacifism now, he would in reality be helping the enemies of the Spanish people whom he so dearly loved. His answer (of July 16, 1937) is most illuminating:

". . . As you suppose, I follow American affairs with much interest. I think the CIO movement—whatever faults it may have—a splendid step in the right direction. The day has gone by when the American worker could naturally side with the capitalists because he expected soon to be one himself.

"With all that you say about Spain, also, I am in general sympathy. I have never called myself a 'pacifist,' though I regard war as a thoroughly antiquated method of conflict at this time of day, and am on the side of all reasonable methods for the organization of peace. There is no doubt on which side my sympathies have been from the first as regards Spain, and I have been showing it in all ways possible to me. Many fine young Englishmen have gone out to fight on the government side, and too often been killed. I do not hear of any going to fight on the other side. There have been many enthusiastic movements and meetings in England for 'Spanish Relief'"—[Here he has a note as follows: "And I was pleased to hear that at an auction of authors' autographed books, held for the cause in Scotland, one of mine fetched highest price!"]—"'though, even when seeking to be impartial, with the sympathies mainly on one side . . ."

I hope that you will find room to print at least the quotation. As one of those you mention who was lucky enough to be close to Mr. Ellis (though I never met him personally, after the first year or so he always signed himself "Affectionately yours" and often even omitted putting the "Ellis" after the "Havelock"), I would like to have his own words in print in a progressive magazine stand as a fitting memorial to this truly great soul. It is true he was unobtrusive all his life, and that in the field of economics many things were not straightened out in his mind, but I think the New Masses editorial caught the real spirit of his life. I am sending this as a sort of thanks to you for what I thought was a splendid estimate of the life of a friend.

(Mrs.) Hodee Richards.

Boston, Mass.

"Satevepost" Record

To New Masses: I am enclosing a copy of my letter which was recently published in the Lewiston (Idaho) *Tribune* regarding "General Krivitsky" and the *Saturday Evening Post* editorial of June 24.

[enclosure]

To the *Tribune:* In this controversy with the *Saturday Evening Post* over the phony "General Krivitsky" and his fake articles on Russia published in the *Post,* let's keep the record straight.

In its issue of May 9 New Masses charged that "General Krivitsky" was no general; that he was an Austrian Jew named Shmelka Ginsberg; that he was a rounder, making a living by dubious means as a shady journalist in Paris; and that his contributions to the *Post* were a mere tissue of lies, "ghosted" for him by Isaac Don Levine, a notorious slanderer of Russia.

In its issue of May 16 New Masses repeated its charges and presented in detail the facts supporting them. The *Saturday Evening Post* then had two choices. It could ignore the charges, or it could present solid facts rehabilitating "the general" and reestablishing its own claim to reputability.

The *Post* at first ignored the charges; but under the increasing pressure of criticism it felt compelled to present its defense in a two-column editorial in the issue of June 24. This defense does not contain a single, lonesome, solitary fact tending to rehabilitate "the general" or to restore the *Post* to the ranks of decent journalism. The defense consists solely of denunciations of (1) New Masses, (2) the Communists, (3) the Jews, (4) the *New Republic,* (5) the *Witness* (Episcopal), (6) Walter Winchell, and (7) me.

Now consider how easy it would have been for the *Post* to exonerate itself if exoneration had been possible. "General Krivitsky" is an alien. He entered this country on a passport. This passport gives details as to his birthplace, age, nationality, and the like. If "the general" is genuine, publication of a facsimile of his passport would have confounded all of the *Post's* critics. The failure to produce this simple and—to the *Post*—easily available bit of evidence convicts the *Post* of being—well, you said it.

The *Post's* defense recalls the story of the elderly criminal lawyer counseling a young practitioner. Said he, "When the law is dead against you, and the facts are against you, give the prosecuting attorney hell."

I have never been admitted to the practice of the law in Pennsylvania. If I had been admitted to practice in that state and if I were legal adviser to the *Post,* I should hiss into the ear of Mr. Wesley Stout, editor in chief, "Mum's the word—unless you want to hang yourself."

Eugene A. Cox.

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A Year Went By

Jim Lardner went over the top about twelve months ago and didn't come back. Neither did Sailor Joe Bianco or Arnold Reid. They weren't much different from most of America's youth.

AND so the year slipped by. The reality of war turns melodramatic in peacetime. Realization of its truths are virtually impossible via the inadequate shorthand of print.

Twelve months now Joe Bianco's been lying under that pile of rocks they laid over his grave on bleak Sierra Pandols. I saw the Sailor the night before he got it. Agog over the month's leave granted him for good front-line service, he wanted to meet me in Paris the next week. He'd never seen, he said, the Eiffel Tower, the Wall of the Communards —and the Folies Bergere. "You been around Paris," he said to me. "I don't know the ropes there. It's a date." The next day the shell exploded in that neat little dugout he always shoveled out of the frontline. The steel went up in the groin and when he put his hand there he knew what to expect. The best man in the brigade lay there cursing the enemy with every curse he had picked up on the seven seas and when he ran out of breath he said to the scared boys standing over him, "Well, soldiers, I'll be seeing you in Sunday School."

I knew the Sailor for about a decade; here was the proletarian intellectual, hard, thoughtful, never faltering, never hesitant. Danger? Hunger? Hardship? His daily lot in peacetime. Hence when he went to war it was not to a strange, horrible, entirely different world. It was the fullest reality of the world he was born in, brought up in, and the world he died in. When death came he took it unmelodramatically, casually—"See you in Sunday School!"

A lot happened just about a year ago. I jogged across that footpath thrown over the Ebro the morning the boys went over and they were still fighting on the heights about Asco. The Junkers came soon enough and they raised hell all day long. Asco, tumbledown and brilliant white in that Ebro sunlight, and when you got into town you saw the bundled-arrow insignia of the Falange on the church-walls and the street corners, and dead mules on the cobblestones.

I got to the front the morning after Arnie Reid got it through the brain. Arnie was a NEW MASSES editor. He'd been around; he had worked in Latin America, in Paris, had done first-class work. Now the calm student handled a revolver. Cool, analytic, he had a fine brain and the sniper's bullet found it that day a year ago as he stood on the top of the ridge, passing up the ammo for the machine gunners. I got back to Barcelona that night and his wife asked me how Arnie was. I mumbled something and she took a quick look at my face and started crying. One year now.

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JAMES LARDNER. *Twenty-four years old. Ring Lardner's boy who didn't return from No Man's Land across the Ebro.*

Reid, quiet-voiced, efficient, the student, was the intellectual who came to the proletarian movement years back, worked in it, blended his personality with that of the mass, guided himself by its aspirations, grew strong with its strength.

Yes, less than twelve months have gone by since I met Jim Lardner on the road coming down from Toro d'Espagnole, on the Catalan side of the Ebro. He led a gang of prisoners to the rear. "Look at them," he yelled at me boyishly as I passed. "Moors there, too." I looked at them. The hard-fighting Moors, Navarrese, Falangists, and plain, puzzled, peasant faces. Marching down that winding road from Toro, dusty, hungry, terribly glad they were taken prisoner. I crossed the Ebro, expecting to look Lardner up when I returned. That same day a Savoia came over and the bomb put him in the hospital for a spell. When he got out he went straight back to the lines and one night, in No Man's Land, he went out and never came back.

Today, a year after, I read a little book written in his honor. It is called *Somebody Had to Do Something*. I read his brother's piece about him. There are fine pieces in the little book got out by the Lardner Memorial Fund. Hemingway and Jay Allen, Pasionaria and El Campesino are among them. Heading the fund are a few other young men, Will Rogers, Jr., chairman; Ring Lardner, Jr., vice chairman, and Howard Goddard, executive secretary. Young men indeed, two of them I met in Spain. Young Rogers was there during the awful Barcelona bombings of March 1938. Every *extranjero* made tracks for the frontier but not Will Rogers' boy. He stayed on until he was ready to leave, several weeks after the worst of the bombings. He just came down to look around, in that deceptively naive manner his dad had. He twiddled his hands around in a funny way reminiscent of the old man and he asked a lot of questions, nosing around, and when he left he had a damn good idea about what was happening. Executive Secretary Howard Goddard! I knew him when he was El Teniente Goddard and I was around the day after he marched some dozen or more fascists in, prisoners. He and the little Spanish motorcyclist everybody loved. Up there, somewhere near Fatarella.

A year's passed now. They've got a memorial fund for young Lardner and the best writers in the country are behind it. The best young men are doing a lot about the fund too, for it is to help those boys who came back with something wrong, an arm, a leg, and there's a lot to be done till they get around on their own again.

A lot to be done—God, yes. A year's gone by and there's been Munich and there isn't Czechoslovakia and Chamberlain continues his political double-talk. Treachery at every hand and yet the future is not lost: these young men haven't surrendered it. The youngsters who came back and the millions like them. And those who didn't get back, they guaranteed tomorrow with their eager, young lives. Yes, a year's gone now. I knew a lot of the boys who got it but I knew best the seaman and the radical and the son of the world-famous writer. These symbolized all the honest men who stood with Spain. They were very young men, and they came from all points of the political compass, but they had something in common—decency—and they wouldn't bear a world where a man couldn't walk upright.

These three: if they had met in America and if there'd been no war, would they ever have had a word in common? Probably, over a long time, they might have got around to knowing each other, maybe working with each other. In Spain, they worked and died with each other. The best thing about them was their universality. They weren't exceptional. I met their types in the American Youth Congress sessions here recently. I've seen them in the factory towns in my recent swing around the country. They come up to the office from the colleges and schools. The three weren't much different from the majority of America's

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youth. They just got to understanding the thing more clearly and more quickly and they acted on it. That's the heartening thing about it.

You can tell by the reaction to the volunteers in the press and by the honest writings of our time—they represented the aspirations of America, these three. Joe Bianco and Arnold Reid and Jim Lardner. Workingman, middle-class boy, student. The year's gone now and they are gone and the meaning of their life is brighter than ever before. Arnie Reid, and Jim Lardner, and Joe Bianco who never saw the Eiffel Tower, waiting there in Sunday School for his buddies. Twelve months have gone by and I can't figure them dead, not really dead.

JOSEPH NORTH.

Military Situation

Major Allen Johnson reviews two books on war strength today.

ALTHOUGH the facts about the relative strength of the various armed forces developing in the world today are very well known to the general staffs of the various nations, it is rare that a readable and well documented report of these facts is obtainable by the general public. Modern Age Books is to be congratulated on offering the public *Military Strength of the Powers,* by Max Werner (95 cents), one of the best studies of the logistics and strategy of the principal powers of the world.

The author examines the various elements of strength and weakness of the main powers. He analyzes their present military and naval capacities, as well as the reasons for their present strategy. Werner points out that the fascist powers have a very substantial machine, but he goes on to show just how great their economic weaknesses are, that is, that they are unable to carry on a protracted war against the democracies for economic reasons. This is the reason why the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis adopted the theory of the sudden, overwhelming attack and their utter dependence upon success in the first moments of a war. This is their reason for dependence upon the mobile, swift-striking arms—the air corps, the tank and mechanized units en masse. Werner compares the development of these forces in Germany with the similar development of them in the USSR to an even greater degree and accurately distinguishes between the purposes behind each development—the axis needs these arms for a complete initial victory, the Soviets need them for a swift counter-attack to be followed by a complete deployment and exploitation of their initial advantage to destroy the enemy and thus bring about a swift peace, at the same time being prepared for the possible exigencies of an extended struggle.

There is also an excellent analysis of the great democracies. Here it becomes clear that, although the combined efforts of the democracies would be greater than that of the axis

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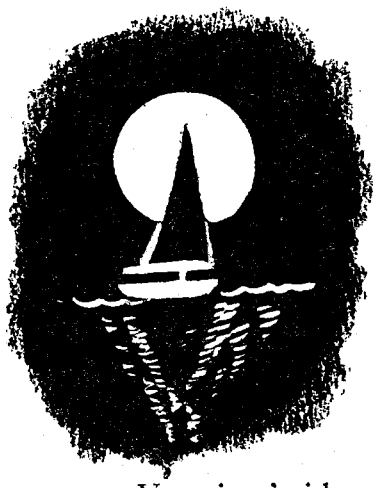
over a period of fighting, the fact remains that just now they do not have the possibilities of meeting such a head-on attack as the axis plans without uniting in a common front of defense.

The analysis of the strength, the strategy, and the potentials of the USSR is important. Werner emphasizes the great strides forward in technology in the USSR and its application to the Red Army. He shows that where every other great nation, including the United States, has the problem of a severe struggle on two fronts, it is the Soviet Union alone that has understood all along that it might have to fight both Germany and Japan and has therefore prepared a preponderance of power in men, material, and technical aids, on both sides, East and West. The Soviet Union today is stronger on both its fronts than the combined axis powers.

These facts, so clearly presented, are very important to the American public. Recent statements by Lindbergh and Sikorsky, which have been discredited, to the effect that the Soviet air forces were not to be compared with those of the aggressors meet a complete denial and searching analysis here. Both Werner and W. O'D. Pierce, the latter in *Air War* (Modern Age, 50 cents), have no illusions as to the power of the Soviet air armadas. The figures quoted, not only from Soviet but from numerous antagonistic sources, fully bear out their contention. The USSR has the largest and best airfleet, and it has the best forces militarily and economically to back it up. Indeed, Mr. Pierce contends that to include the factor of morale (which is a very important military consideration) would give the USSR supreme military strength against all the axis powers combined.

Werner explains what the leaders of the Soviets meant when they said that an attack on Soviet territory would be met by defeat on the territory of the aggressors. The Red Army is trained in the principle of the offensive and makes careful use of the theoretical material of von Clauswitz and other great military theorists; the arms and services of the Soviets are skillfully combined and trained together, making the maximum use of their formidable air and tank units to create the greatest military machine in the world today. The writer explains that this machine is kept at the highest peak of efficiency and training all the time, because the fascist states are preparing a timetable war, i.e., a war to be started on a predetermined date and prepared for by every known means; therefore the Soviet Union must be prepared for a timetable defense and a counter-offensive of greater proportions. Mr. Pierce adds a note which is of the greatest importance: that a democratization of the armed forces, as shown by the Soviets and in loyalist Spain, does not detract from efficiency but draws the army close to the people and thus helps to expose the traitors within its own ranks. He uses the example of the Trotskyist trials to show how this strengthened the Soviet Union. The reports of the general staffs would tend to confirm



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   If you are not a subscriber now, you may enter the contest by sending in your own yearly subscription ($4.50). If you are a subscriber, you may enter the contest merely by extending the life of your own current subscription for one year ($4.50).
5. The first contest winner will be announced in the issue of NEW MASSES that appears July 6. In that issue and in each of the next nine issues we will reprint the winning slogan and award the weekly prize of $10.00. One month after the closing date of the contest, we will announce the winner of the grand prize of $100.00.
6. All slogans submitted, whether winners or not, become the property of NEW MASSES, and cannot be returned. In the event of a tie for weekly or grand prize the full amount of the prize will be awarded to each tying contestant.
7. Judges of the contest will be three editors of NEW MASSES — Joseph North, A. B. Magil, Samuel Sillen. Their decisions are final.

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Mr. Pierce in this judgment of the situation.

Werner points out the difficulties that Japan is having in her war in China, her lack of raw materials and general economic difficulties. He warns, however, against underestimating the strength of the Japanese fleet; he goes so far as to say that any combination of the democratic forces on the Pacific would only result in a blockade of Japan and stalemate unless they had the assistance of the Soviet armies on the Amur-Argun, Vladivostok, and Mongolian fronts and the Soviet fleet with its bases. Werner believes that with a Soviet-American combination such a war with Japan could be brought to a quick and successful conclusion. He also believes that this course will be pursued by the United States because ultimately the USA must resist Japan or lose her Pacific interests and even meet with aggression nearer home.

Although Werner understands the necessity today of the unity of the democracies in the face of fascist aggression, he still believes that war will inevitably result. Such a danger *indubitably exists, especially in view of the* vacillations of the leaders of the British government and the attempts to placate fascism. Nevertheless, it is one of the weaknesses of this volume that so much is taken for granted. Another weakness: Werner is no lover of the Soviets and expresses his horror and consternation over the liquidation of the military traitors who were executed by the Soviet Union for selling themselves to the agents of German and Japanese aggression. Is it not obvious that this firm action greatly strengthened the Soviet defenses?

The errors in Werner's book are compensated for in some degree by Pierce's *Air War*. This analysis of aerial warfare also places the same emphasis upon the aerial arms that Werner does, but this time there is much more understanding of the internal political issues at stake. Pierce also extends the general discussion into the psychology of aerial warfare and warfare in general. He spends a good deal of time in a discussion of war propaganda and the question of military and civil morale in the face of what modern war may produce. He makes a point that Werner misses: "The military gamblers must play for high and expensive stakes, but the prize *is both a new lease of colonial expansion and* an escape from the threat of social revolution." This is the crux of the whole matter—the attempt to escape the results of a system in which production and consumption are social while the tools and factories and their products are privately owned. In other words, the whole question of war and peace and the present armament race is qualified by the very production system in the midst of which the majority of the nations of the world are set. The very thing for which these terrific armaments are being built, i.e., to avoid social revolution at home, may be the very end to which war on the scale that the aggressors are planning will probably lead.

In view of the great emphasis that both these authors place upon the lessons gained

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from the Spanish civil war, it is a sad commentary indeed to find the U. S. War Department as a matter of policy rejecting the Americans who fought for loyalist Spain for the arms and services of the United States. These are the Americans with the most recent knowledge of modern warfare, gained in actual combat, and yet their own country refuses to use their knowledge to improve the training of the armed forces of the nation. It is possible that through these two volumes the people of the United States will gain a better understanding of the potentials of modern warfare and will wish to employ those whose recent experience in the defense of democracy could be put to effective use.

MAJOR ALLEN JOHNSON.

Far Eastern Diary

"Journey to a War" by Christopher Isherwood and W. H. Auden.

AUDEN and Isherwood were commissioned by their British and American publishers to do a book on China. They left England for the Orient by the eastward route. From Hongkong they took a winding, circuitous road to Shanghai, stopping off at major points of military and historical interest. Auden wrote some poems about China and some about things in general. He also took pictures, which are, on the whole, pretty bad, perhaps because of bad facilities. Isherwood, in consultation with his poet-companion, wrote the prose that is the main part of the book, the diary of the days between Hongkong and Shanghai.

Coming a week or two after Vincent Sheean's *Not Peace but a Sword, Journey to a War* (Random House, $3) is an exasperating book. It is not that the material is not there or that the writing is bad; Auden and Isherwood write beautifully. It is not that the authors are insensitive. On the contrary, they often are hypersensitive. But the fact is that while Sheean went through three war-torn and fascist-beleaguered countries like a citizen of the twentieth century, Auden and Isherwood went through China like a pair of frivolous Boy Scouts—or better, perhaps,

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like the "silly ass" Englishmen of Wodehouse, a middle-class tradition which the group these two writers represent is alleged to have broken with. They went through an area of world conflict slashed and razed by war, and they had a hard time deciding on what interested them most—chopsticks or war, rickshaws or the people's will to resist.

What makes the book aggravating is this indecisiveness of selection. When the authors write about the Red Army, Madame Chiang Kai-shek or Agnes Smedley, the German generals who rejoice at a Nazi *Anschluss* before leading Chinese guerrillas against the fascist enemies, they are informative, analytical, and frequently passionate. When Isherwood drifts off into comment on Auden's eating habits, or their own inability to mix sympathy for China with acceptance of its life, he becomes childish and provincial. It is not that irrelevancies and personalization are out of place in a book of this kind, but rather that no discretion is used in separating them from the larger views.

This is the least considerable job turned out by either Auden or Isherwood. Both of them have plenty to say and an abundance of talent. But this, for the very most part, is frippery. RICHARD H. ROVERE.

"In Blood and Ink"

Maury Maverick on the life and documents of American democracy.

IF THERE is anything that Maury Maverick abominates more than Mr. Garner it is, I imagine, the bearded legalists who have made of our Constitution an ornamental breastpiece to cover their stuffed shirts. He has a blazing hatred for the ambiguous lawyers and the untouchable jurists who have quite neatly forgotten that the "law of the land" is a people's instrument, not a corporation buffer. The mayor of San Antonio says so in plain hot terms. (*In Blood and Ink: The Life and Documents of American Democracy,* by Maury Maverick; Modern Age Books, 75 cents.)

In Maverick's conception the Constitution is a dynamic, derivative document "born in suffering and hardship." From Runnymede and the Magna Charta in 1215 to Philadelphia and the Constitutional Convention in 1787 is a long stretch of time and space. But what happened in between, particularly in America, went into the making of the written Constitution. The Colonies and their ordinances, the Declaration of American Rights (1774), the Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking up Arms (1775), the Declaration of Independence—all were reservoirs from which the Founding Fathers siphoned their ideas in formulating the basic law. In a separate section the documents themselves are produced (including the Northwest Ordinance and the Confederate Constitution), embellished by Maverick's trenchant comment.

Also in the Maverick interpretation of the Constitution as the framework of a progres-

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sive democracy is its power to secure the people's liberties—liberties not just in the civil sense but in the right to "eat regular." The Constitution in the hands of the majority should weld unity of the nation and through its general welfare provision protect them against the strangling monopolies, against the loss of land by flood and erosion, against slums and unemployment. Maverick's cup of anger is full to the brim when he considers how the Supreme Court wrested Congressional power and obstructed the conduct of effective government. The Dred Scott decision, as Maverick shows, was one of the great blows to democratic government. Through it Justice Taney not only condoned slavery but, by reviving the Marshall doctrine of nullifying acts of Congress, violated the right of the people "to see to it that the Law of the Land is operated for their common good . . . For vesting of such powers in any non-elected body means that it is possible for minority interests to secure for themselves liberties at the expense of the people." Maverick even reaches into the papers of the reactionaries' high priest, Alexander Hamilton, to point to Hamilton's writing that Congress could control the Supreme Court's errors by passing appropriate checks and rules. Two years ago that would have been an unhappy citation to bring to the attention of, let us say, Senator Vandenberg.

I hope this book has the extensive sale it deserves. It captures the important elements of the Constitutional problem without the baggage of mysterious legal phrases. Its irreverence for the divinity of the bench makes it a pleasure to read. If Mayor Maverick subscribed to the materialist view of things he might have been able to probe deeper into the court crisis of 1937 as being more than a battle of symbols or the vagaries of grumbling old men. He would have related the Constitutional turmoil to others of our past and seen in it the reflection of social upheaval and the clash between class interests. He would have devoted more space to the problem of the destruction of necessary Constitutional amendments by a minority of states—such as the Child Labor Amendment. He might have even looked, out of curiosity, into the Soviet Constitution to see what the fundamental law was like under a socialist democracy.

JOHN STUART.

Beatrice Tobias

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Jazz Archives

Aroused interest in hot jazz motivates the re-pressing of jazz classics by Vocalion, Brunswick, Victor, Bluebird, the Hot Record Society, and the United Hot Clubs of America.

LITERATURE and music have conveyed their traditions in secondary form, in print and annotation, so that the pleasure of James Joyce, for instance, is less immediate on the page than it is when the author reads a passage on phonograph recording, as he did in Paris a few years ago. In hot jazz, whose basis is not in written music but in the spirit and inspiration of the playing date, the twentieth century has provided a new carrier of the musical impulse. Recordings have become the archives of this music, succeeding the score.

Until quite recently American jazz achievements have been available only to the collector with the knowledge and time to go grubbing for Gennett, Paramount, Okeh, or the other forgotten labels of the early period. The archeological desposits of this ancient musical culture of the 1920's became virtually exhausted and collectors themselves had to travel a hundred miles to hear a QRS original of Earl Hines improvising *Monday Date*. The United Hot Clubs of America and the Hot Record Society began re-pressing notable performances. The former organization, founded in 1935, leans to the Chicago style of the late twenties. HRS is more antiquarian in its devotion to Negro jazz and the New Orleans origins. Both, of course, have issued representative records of all schools. The drawback for the budding collector has been the expense of these reprints, both groups having had to charge $1 for a ten inch record because of the cultist dimensions of the market. Average sale of one of the reprints is three hundred.

HRS has now reduced its price to 75 cents with an annual fee of $10 for fourteen records and an interesting bonus release. UHCA gives a 20 percent discount to members of affiliated clubs and has a few items for 75 cents.

The collectors' clubs have aroused a much wider interest in what the musicians amusingly call "righteous jazz" as against commercial or corny jazz. The audience has broadened to the extent that the big commercial companies are now reissuing many records from their extensive files, records which in many cases they were too timid to release when originally made. Vocalion, under the guidance of their new recording director, John Hammond, is ransacking the shelves for masters of some of the greatest jazz of the twenties, hundreds of Bessie Smith, Louis Armstrong, Bix Biederbecke, Red Nichols, and the fertile field of blues in which the company excels. Most of these reissues sell for 35 cents, as do a big batch of reissues by Bluebird, inspired by the visit of Hugues Panassie, the French jazz writer. M. Panassie has written an appreciative booklet to accompany 144 reissues and permanent jazz classics from Victor and Bluebird. The list on this page, selected from recent reissues, includes only a few of the fine records now available. These are the ones I liked particularly. Complete personnels are listed on the labels of the records. JAMES DUGAN.

Jazz Classics

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McKinney's Cotton Pickers (N)	MISS HANNAH (B-10232)
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Jelly-Roll Morton (N)	THE CHANT (B-10253)
Mound City Blue Blowers (M)	TAILSPIN BLUES (B-10209)
Benny Moten (N)	MOTEN'S SWING (B-10259)
Fats Waller (N)	HARLEM FUSS (B-10185)

UNITED HOT CLUBS OF AMERICA REISSUES*

Louis Armstrong (N)	POTATO HEAD BLUES (UHCA 7)
Billy Banks (M)	YELLOW DOG BLUES (UHCA 107)
Jack Bland (M)	WHO STOLE THE LOCK (Commodore label 104-A)
Chicago Rhythm Kings (M)	TENNESSEE TWILIGHT (UHCA 64)
Chocolate Dandies (N)	DEE BLUES (UHCA 54)
Chocolate Dandies (M)	I NEVER KNEW (UHCA 57)
Fletcher Henderson (N)	HOUSE OF DAVID BLUES (UHCA 57)
Joe Sullivan (W)	ONYX BRINGDOWN (Piano solo) (UHCA 34)
Jabbo Smith (N)	JAZZ BATTLE (UHCA 44)
Pine Top Smith (N)	PINE TOP'S BOOGIE WOOGIE (Piano solo)

HOT RECORD SOCIETY REISSUES†

Chicago Loopers (W)	THREE BLIND MICE (HRS 1)
Louis Armstrong (N)	CORNET CHOP SUEY (HRS 2)
Bessie Smith (N)	ONE AND TWO BLUES (Blues song) (HRS 2)
Louisiana Rhythm Kings (W)	DADA STRAIN (HRS 7)
Benny Goodman (W)	WOLVERINE BLUES (HRS 7)
The Wolverines (W)	RIVERBOAT SHUFFLE (HRS 9)
J. C. Higginbotham (N)	HIGGINBOTHAM BLUES (HRS 14)
Miff Mole (W)	WINDY CITY STOMP (HRS 15)
Louisiana Rhythm Kings (W)	BALLIN' THE JACK (HRS 15)
The Chocolate Dandies (M)	KRAZY KAPERS (HRS 16)
Billy Banks (M)	TAKE IT SLOW AND EASY (HRS 17)
Pee Wee Russell (M)	BABY WON'T YOU PLEASE COME HOME (HRS 17)
Louis Armstrong (N)	WEATHERBIRD (piano-trumpet duet) (HRS 18)

(N) Negro orchestras. (M) Mixed white and Negro. (W) White orchestras.
* Obtainable at Commodore Music Shop, 46 West 52nd St., N. Y. C.
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World Today in Art

Sixty-four artists represented in exhibit of contemporary life.

"THE WORLD OF TODAY," with its misery and insecurity, hope and conflict, is on exhibition in seventy-nine oils, water colors, gouaches, prints, and drawings by sixty-four artists, at the Berkshire Museum, Pittsfield, Mass. It is a full documentary—strikes, floods, lynchings, aggression,

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workers and silk-hatters, burlesque and dress circle, refugees and ivory-tower caretakers, etc.—by some of the best artists of this world of today. The picture that has provoked the most controversy is John Groth's *Bad Housing,* reproduced on this page, which shocked critics who like to remember that "There are still pleasant things in life."

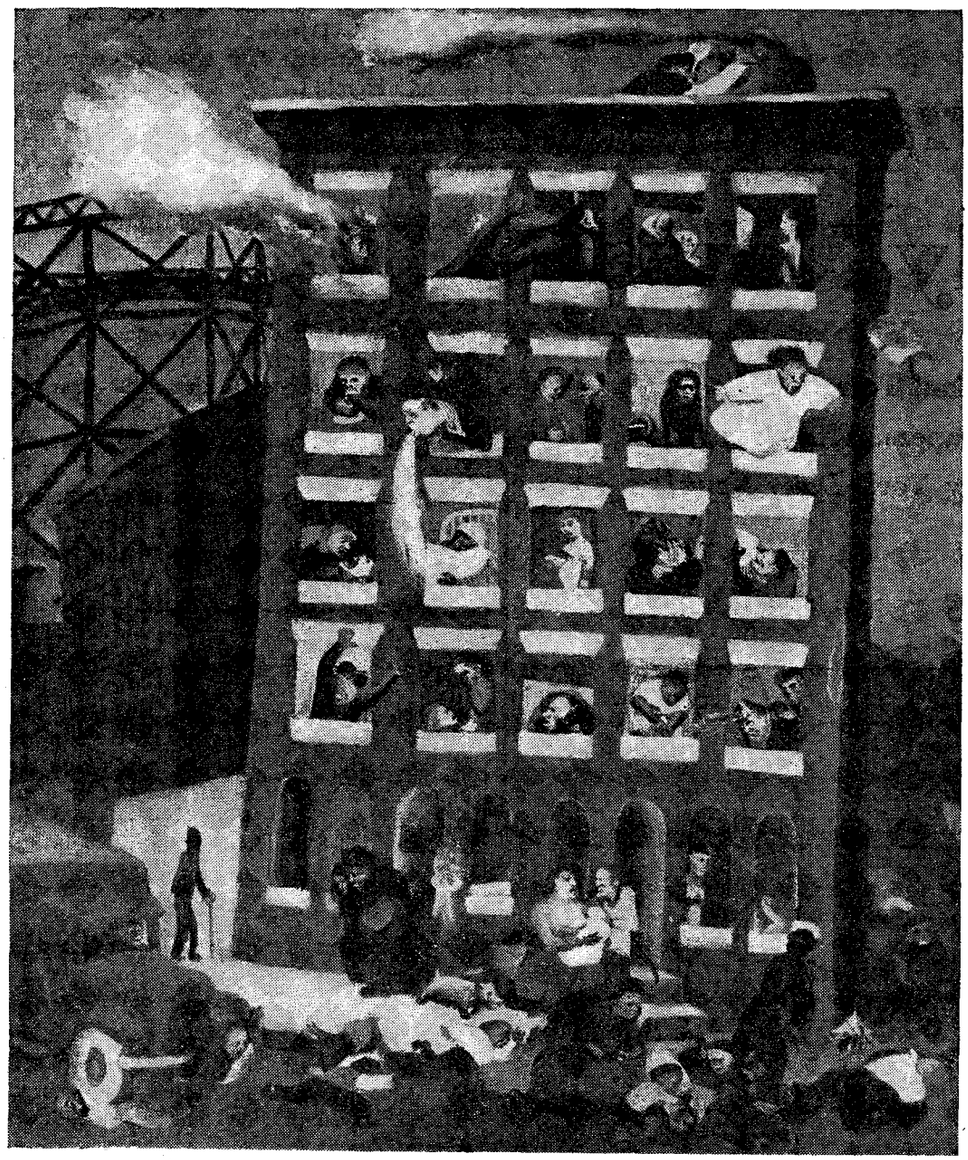
The exhibition, which was conceived by Laura M. Bragg, director of the museum, and organized by Elizabeth McCausland, art critic and writer, is a democratic representation of different schools of esthetics, as social realists, abstractionists, surrealists, and even somewhat academic painters. Twelve of the artists are represented in the Metropolitan Museum, fourteen of them are under thirty years of age and two over sixty. Such new mediums as baked enamel on steel panel, duco on wood panel, silk screen stencil color prints have been employed, as well as some old mediums lately revived, such as tempera, color lithography, color woodcuts, etc. There are technical displays from the Federal Art Project. For the loan of their work the artists are receiving rental from the museum. The exhibition will continue until September 5.

M. S. L.

350,000 Democrats

The film "Refuge" tells of the loyalists in France.

To see what happened to the 350,000 loyalist men, women, and children after the fall of Barcelona is to feel ashamed to belong to the same species as Mr. Neville Chamberlain and M. Edouard Daladier. Jean-Paul Dreyfus, a French movie maker, stood at the frontier at Perthus as they came through. First the women and children, a child with snapping black eyes hopping along with only one leg, women as old and grand as a Romanesque carving, the babies in the rain, the young girls in the slush, a vast packed mass of people in the greatest migration since



BAD HOUSING. *John Groth's painting is included among the works of sixty-four leading artists in the current show at the Berkshire Museum, Pittsfield, Mass.*

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antiquity. Then the last of the republican army, coming through in good order, after holding the rear for two days to allow the women and children to get through. Even from the screen you can hardly look one of these men in the eyes. They bring 150 field pieces through, hundreds of trucks, and one shot comes of a decimated company, stepping along in ranks of four like conquerors as they face the hog wallows provided for them by the great French democracy.

Dreyfus followed them to Argeles, Prats de Mollo, and the other concentration camps, smuggling his camera in past the Sengalese guards to record scenes in the camps, which are surrounded by barbed wire, swamps, and the colonial cavalry with drawn sabers. The reward of the heroes who tried to keep the axis from France's border is not a pretty thing to see. The unrelenting camera shows it to us. When Leland Stowe, speaking before the screening, called these Spaniards the greatest people of our time, he branded the rest of us, and the debased man, Chamberlain, whom we allowed to do this.

The three reel film *Refuge,* which has been made from the Dreyfus footage, is being distributed by the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign, of which Harold L. Ickes is honorary chairman. Here is a picture that must be shown to every last American worthy of living in a free country. The fascists have the same war ready for us ("I would not hesitate to take Franco's way"—Father Coughlin) and the traitors will be there with the same kind of aftermath.

But now we must do everything for the Spanish heroes. The film shows the kind of medical treatment the relief committees have been administering; it is not enough. People who have this happen to them hate their betrayers worse than their enemies. Hitler and Mussolini actually gain allies in the despair of such people. If they are allowed to rot in mind and morale, and no fighters ever showed greater morale, they will have become twice victims of fascism, once as the bombed and once as the enslaved. All they ask is life and a chance to fight Hitler again. To live is the least laurel for men who fought such a war. The war goes on as Franco herds a people back to serfdom. Here are 350,000 still holding out for Spanish democracy. The little children sing, "Our mission is the peace of the world," the little children whom the brave birdmen of fascism could not conquer. Spain inside French barbed wire is still the Spain to which the future belongs. Help distribute this film. Help America see it.

ANDY HARDY HOBBLED

The Hardy family pictures have been MGM's most popular films. I enjoy them and I think Master Mickey Rooney is one of the best actors in Hollywood. But Master Rooney needed a comedown, somebody to cuff him when he tried to swallow the camera. That has been provided in the latest, *Andy Hardy Gets Spring Fever,* by the new director of the series, W. S. Van Dyke. Mickey cut down to size is Mickey masterful. The punk

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has everything. Watch him work with Lewis Stone who has been around long enough to know better than to walk into a lion's cage. Wallace Beery refuses to appear in the same frame with Master Rooney. It looks as though Warners' will have to lend out Cagney, Garfield, and Davis to give this lad a bringdown.

Warner Bros., incidentally, announce a picture, to be called *Underground,* about the anti-Nazi movement in Germany, with John Garfield, Geraldine Fitzgerald, and, as director, Anatole Litvak, who did *Nazi Spy*. Oliver H. P. Garrett, who wrote the screenplay for *One-third of a Nation,* will have the script worked out with Edwin Justus Mayer by the time Garfield is through with his current assignment, *20,000 Years in Sing Sing.*

ROUNDUP

The lamentable condition of the movie industry in France is indicated in the distressing news that Jean Renoir, the great director who made *Grand Illusion,* has signed a contract to make a film in fascist Italy. Renoir can find no work in France so he accepted the offer of a French entrepreneur who has frozen money in Italy. The contract stipulates that the film will have no fascist propaganda, but Renoir's admirers all over the world regret his action in breaking the cultural boycott of fascism. . . . Darryl Zanuck, who paid $60,000 for *The Grapes of Wrath,* says, "We are going to do John Steinbeck's book exactly as it is written and nobody is going to stop us." Check. . . . War has tightened Japanese movie censorship to an almost impossible degree. The censors describe the ideal as a "healthy motion picture," but Japan's six film producers haven't the faintest idea how to do it. . . . When *Snow White* was knocking the box office dead all over the world, a Nazi editor stated sardonically, "Germany has not yet found it necessary to fall back on fairytales for our films—we still have ideas and audiences that can appreciate them." Now there has been a quiet announcement in General Goering's *National Zeitung* that the first color *maerchen-trickfilm,* or animated cartoon, is in the making. It will be based on a fairytale plot. . . . One hundred and forty-one employees of Warner Bros., United Artists, and RKO have adopted Spanish orphans through the Foster Parents Plan.

J. D.

John Heliker

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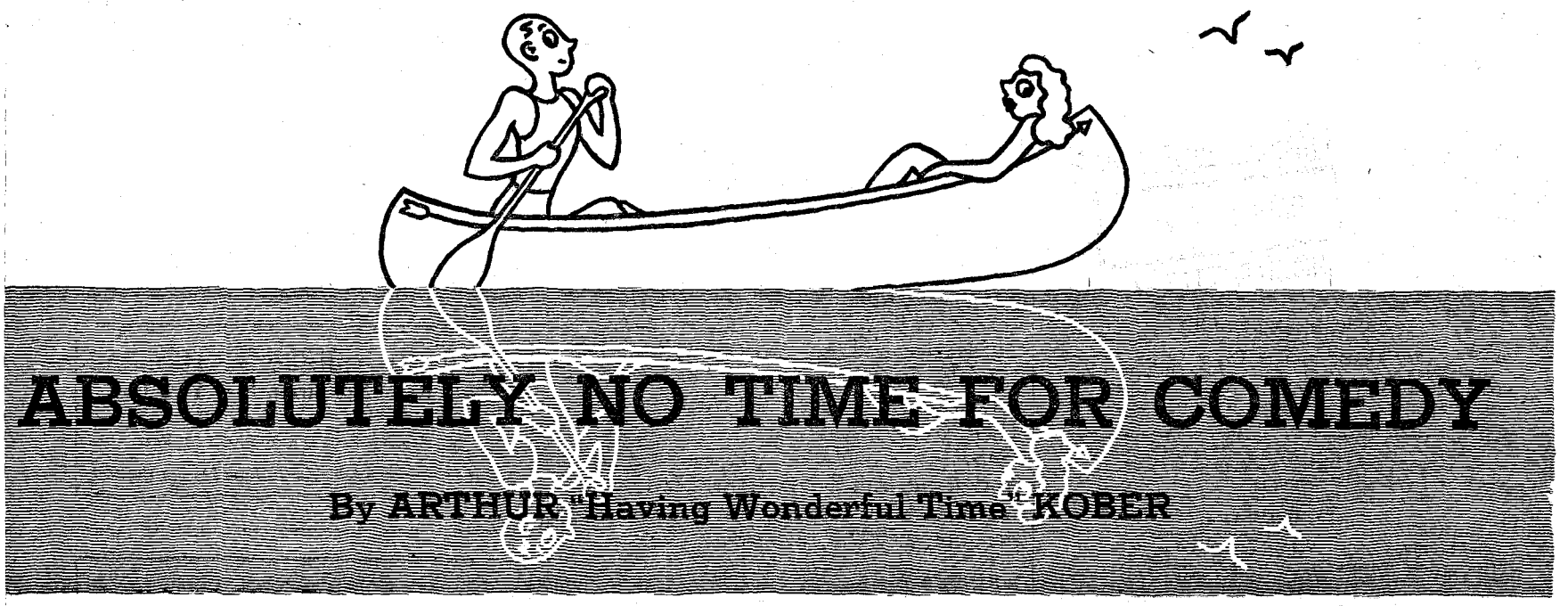

ABSOLUTELY NO TIME FOR COMEDY

By ARTHUR "Having Wonderful Time" KOBER

Scene: Lake Kare-Free in the Berkshires
Time: This Very Minute

Gee, it's simply grand just sitting here in the canoe and paddling along this way, taking it easy. And just lookit the lake —how calm and tranquil it is. You know what I wish? I wish our lives could be just as calm and tranquil like this lake. Honestly, when I think of the state of this world at the present minute, I — well, I don't know what.

Wait a minute! You think I like this here kinda heavy talk? I don't! It's no pleasure to discuss such gloomy matters when I deliberately came up here to get away from that kinda talk. Me, I'd rather sit here with you drinking in this gorgeous scenery than get into one of these here moods. But I simply can't help it. I feel here I am, taking a two weeks' vacation, enjoying myself, eating heartily, having a wonderful time, and yet I know that the Fascists and the anti-Semites are not taking a vacation. They're not resting up, no, sir — not for one little minute. They're more active than ever in spreading their disgusting propaganda and doing everything in their power to wreck democracy.

Aw right, I know I, personally, can't save the world. But still I can do something. Look. You and me, we're readers of the NEW MASSES. We belong to a union — you do, but my outfit is still trying to get recognition. The NEW MASSES strongly supports labor. We're shocked and horrified at the spread of anti-Semitism, at the mad Hitler in Germany, and the carbon copy called Coughlin here. The NEW MASSES fights them both. We loathe and despise Fascism. The NEW MASSES expresses our sentiments. We believe in the principles of the New Deal. So does the NEW MASSES.

So this is what I have in mind. While we're here enjoying ourselves, why can't we try to get the NEW MASSES some readers who maybe don't know about the magazine? Let them be made aware of what's going on so that they can take an active part in combating the spread of Fascism. Here's my suggestion — see at least five (5) of your new-found friends in your vacation spot. Get them to be regular NEW MASSES subscribers. Cement your summer friendships with America's Indispensable Weekly — NEW MASSES.

On page 31 please find a summer sub coupon (special introductory offer of 12 weeks for $1 and 52 weeks — $4.50). Happy vacation to you.

Arthur Kober

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